A

COLLECTION

OF

Several Tracts

AND

DSICOURSES,

Written in the Years

1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685.

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D. D.

To which are added,

A Letter written to Dr. *Burnet*, giving an Account of Cardinal *Pool*'s Secret Powers.

The Hiſtory of the *Powder-Treaſon*, with a Vindication of the Proceedings thereupon.

An Impartial Conſideration of the Five Jeſuits dying Speeches, who were Executed for the Popiſh Plot, 1679.

LONDON:

Printed for **Ric. Chiſwell**, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard. MDCLXXXV

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A

LETTER,

Written upon the

DISCOVERY

Of the Late

PLOT.

Licenſed W. Jane, *Octob.* 17. 1678.

LONDON:
Printed for *H. Brome*, and *R. Chiſwell*, both living in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, 1678.

A

LETTER,

Written upon the DISCOVERY

Of the Late

PLOT.

SIR,

I Heartily thank you for the News your laſt brought me, of the diſcovery of that horrid Plot, both againſt his Majeſties Perſon, and the whole Kingdom. I doubt not but all good men are offering up their acknowledgments to God, for ſo great a Bleſſing; which is a freſh demonſtration of his care of this Church, and State: and that all our Crying ſins have not provoked him yet to abandon us: of which I pray God make us all ſenſible, that we may not continue to pull down ſuch judgments, as the malice of wicked men would readily become inſtrumental in, if the Providence of God did not ſo wonderfully and ſeaſonably interpoſe.

There is only one Paſſage in your Letter, that I wonder at. You tell me every body is ſurprized with this Plot now diſcovered. I confeſs I am not of their mind; for although I know there are perſons of high Honour, and untainted Loyalty of the Roman Religion, who abominate the thoughts of all ſecret Aſſaſſinations, much more of

Murdering his Majeſty; yet ſuch practices are ſo neceſſarily conſequent to the Principles of that Church, that no Member of it, who throughly underſtands them, can, while they continue in that Communion, avoid the being involved in Conſpiracies, as oft as a fit occaſion preſents it ſelf.

Theſe ſeveral years paſt they have boaſted much of their Loyalty, and their Services and Sufferings for his Majeſty, during the late Civil Wars. All this was neceſſary to make the Government put confidence in them, that ſo they might more ſecretly lay their deſigns: which were to take effect, when a Conjuncture was offered that ſeemed favourable. But I muſt again and again repeat, what I often told you in diſcourſe; That no Member of that Church can thorowly underſtand and believe the Principles of it, and be a good Subject even to a King of his own Perſwaſion: But he can be much leſs ſo, to a Prince whom he looks on as an Heretick, who thereby lies under a general Excommunication, and may be brought under a particular and Formal one, before he, or any body elſe, but ſuch as are fit to be entruſted with the Secret, ſhall know it: And then the Prince is at the mercy of all his Popiſh Subjects, who if they conſider aright the Doctrine of their own Church, muſt depart from their Allegiance to Him, and be ready to do any thing that is laid on them, by thoſe who are either directly their Superiours, if they have taken Religious Vows; or at leaſt, have ſome authority over their Conſciences.

This I ſhall open to you in as ſhort and plain terms as is poſſible; and the rather, that you may communicate it to ſome perſons of Honour of that Religion, who I hope upon ſo freſh a Diſcovery of theſe practices, may be now not unwilling to examine a Point, the conſideration of which they before rejected, as an Imputation caſt on their Religion. This will now, I imagine, move them ſo far to demur, as to conſider impartially whether ſuch practiſes flow only from

from the ill Tempers of particular Perſons, or from the received Principles of their Church. This latter I undertake to make out, from the undeniable Maximes, to which all of that Communion are bound to adhere.

There are Two Principles, which I may well call the Fundamental Principles of the *Roman* Church: ſince all Opinions that are not inconſiſtent with them, can be tollerated among them: But whatever ſtrikes at theſe, muſt needs be Abominated, as Deſtructive of that, they call *The Catholick Faith.* The one is, *The Authority of the Church,* The other is, *The Certainty of Tradition.* If then the Doctrine of Depoſing Kings, and by conſequence Killing them (for if they are juſtly depoſed, it's as juſt to kill them as to kill any Uſurper) is ſuch, that without denying the Authority of the Church, and the Certainty of Tradition, it cannot be denied; then all men muſt reſolve either to acknowledg it, or to renounce their Subjection to a Church that muſt needs believe it.

About the Authority of the Church, Two things are to be obſerved, that ſerve for clearing what I deſign to make out.

The Firſt is, That the Church in any one Age has as much Authority as ever it had, or can have in any other Age: For if Chriſts Promiſes, together with the other Arguments they bring for the Authority of the Church, be good, they are alike ſtrong at all Times, and in all Ages: And therefore though in writing Books of Controverſies they muſter up Authorities out of the former Ages, becauſe we profeſs we pay little eſteem to the latter Ages: Yet among themſelves all Ages are alike, and the Decrees of them are of equal authority.

Secondly, The Authority of the Church is as little to be diſputed in moral matters, that fall under practice, as in Articles of Faith that only fall under Speculation, and in a word,

word, The Church must be the Infallible Expounder of the Ten Commandments, as well as of the Creed. All the Arguments from Christs Promises, from the hazard of trusting to our private Reasonings, and the Necessity of Submitting to a publick Judg, are by so much the more concluding in Practical matters, as it is of more Importance, That Men think aright in Practical than in Speculative Opinions. If then there arises a Question about a Moral matter, or the Exposition of any of the Commandments, The only certain Decision must be expected from the Church. For instance, a Question arises about Images, Whether it is lawful to use them in the Worship of God, upon the seeming Opposition which the worship of them has to the 2d Commandment? Since the Church has once Determin'd that it may be lawfully used, it is Heresie to deny it, on this pretence, that we fancy it is contrary to one of the Commandments. So if a Controversie arise upon the Fifth Commandment, How far a King is to be acknowledged, if the Church has determined the Limits of that, it is Heresie to carry it further. If also another Question arise how much the Sixth Commandment obliges? It must be carried so far and no further than the Determination of the Church allows. I confess by the Doctrine of that Church, even a General Council may err in a point in which any matter of Fact is included: Because they may be deceived by a false Information. But in a General Rule about Morality, and the Extent of any of the Ten Commandments, The Decision of the Church must either be certain, and for ever Obligatory, or the whole Doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church falls to the ground.

Concerning the *Certainty of Tradition*, the general Opinion of that party, is, That Tradition is an Infallible Conveyance of Divine Truth: and that whatever any Age of the Church delivers to another as derived from Christ and his Apostles,

Apoſtles, muſt be received with the ſame Veneration and Obedience that we pay to the Holy Scriptures. And for the ways of diſtinguiſhing a Tradition of the Church from any Impoſture, or Novelty: There be four of them.

The firſt, That is the moſt doubtful, is, That the greateſt and moſt eſteemed Doctors in any Age deliver as a Divine Truth. Nor is it neceſſary that they formally ſay, This is a Tradition: but if many of them mention an Opinion, and declare their own aſſent to it, this paſſes as a ſufficient proof of the Tradition of any Age of the Church. So in all points of Controverſie between them and us, the greateſt part of their Writers, (ſome few later and ſuſpected ones only excepted) think they have ſufficiently juſtified their Church, when they bring Teſtimonies out of any of the Writings of the Fathers, that ſeem to favour their Opinion: and will call it unreaſonable for us to reject theſe, becauſe they only deliver their own opinion, and do not call it the Tradition of the Church, but conclude, That many Writers in any age aſſerting an Opinion, it may well be looked on as the Tradition of that Age.

But, becauſe this is more liable to exception, there is another way, that is more infallible to judg of Tradition: and that is, by the conveyance of the See of *Rome*, which they judg the chief Depoſitory of the Faith; and for which they fanſie they have ſo many proofs, from the high things ſome of the Fathers have ſaid about the dignity of that See. Now if theſe conclude any thing, it muſt follow, That whatever has been delivered in any Age by a Pope, as conveyed down from Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, muſt either be ſo indeed, or the See of *Rome* is not a faithful Tranſmitter of Tradition.

But, there is yet a more certain way of judging of Tradition, by what the chief Paſtors of the Church have delivered, when aſſembled in a general Council. This being the

Supreme

Supreme Tribunal in the Church, there can lie no appeal from it: Nor can the Doctrines delivered or approved by it be queſtioned. For inſtance, If it were under debate, How the Tradition about Tranſubſtantiation can be made out in the Thirteenth Century; it is needleſs to ſeek any other evidence, than, That one *Almerick* is condemned for denying it, and in Oppoſition to that, it was formally eſtabliſhed in a general Council. This is as much as can be had, and he were very unreaſonable that were not ſatisfied with it: So if it be asked, How can the Tradition of the Doctrine of Depoſing Kings, and giving away their Dominions in the ſame Century be proved? The Anſwer is plain, That ſame very Council decreed it: Upon which a great Prince was depoſed, and his Dominions were given to another.

Theſe are the Common Standards by which Traditions are Examined. But to theſe a new one has been lately added: which is indeed a much ſhorter and nearer way: And that is, whatever the Church holds in any one age, as a Material point of Religion, ſhe muſt have received it from the former age, and that age from the former, and ſo it climbs upwards till the days of the Apoſtles. If this be a certain Track of Tradition by which we may infallibly trace it; Then for inſtance, If in any one age, it hath been believed, That St. *Peter* had power from Chriſt, which he left to the See of *Rome*, by which his Succeſſor in it can depoſe Kings, then this muſt be an Apoſtolical Tradition, and by conſequence of equal authority with any thing written in the Scriptures.

To theſe General Conſiderations about the Authority of the Church, and the Certainty of Tradition; I ſhall add Two other, about the Nature of Supreme and Soveraign Power: By which we may judg of what Extent the Popes Power muſt be, if he have an authority to depoſe Kings, and transfer their Dominions to other perſons.

Firſt,

First, When the Soveraign Powers proceed in a Legal way againſt its Subjects; If either they abſcond, ſo that they cannot be found; Or have ſuch a Power about them, that the Sovereign cannot bring them to puniſhment; He may declare them Rebels, and ſet Prices on their Heads; And in that caſe it is as lawful for any Subject to kill them, as it is for an Executioner to put a condemned Perſon to Death. Theſe being the ſeveral ways the Law provides in thoſe ſeveral caſes. So when a *Pope* depoſes a Prince, He may as lawfully ſet on private Aſſaſſinates to kill him, as oblige his Subjects to riſe with open force againſt him. For if the *Pope* has a Power over him to depoſe him; this clearly follows from the Nature of Sovereign Power, and it is the Courſe that ſometimes muſt be followed, when the Rebel can be no other way brought to deſerved puniſhment; and if the *Pope* has the power of depoſing, then a Prince who after ſuch a Sentence, carries himſelf as a King, is a Rebel againſt his Supreme Lord: And is alſo an Uſurper. For his Title being deſtroyed by the Sentence, He has no authority over his Subjects: and therefore may be as lawfully killed as any Rebel or Uſurper.

Secondly, The Supreme power may in caſes of great neceſſity, when the thing is in it ſelf materially juſt, paſs over ſuch Forms as ought in ordinary Caſes to be obſerved. I need not tell you, That in a great Fire, Subordinate Magiſtrates may blow up Houſes. But doubtleſs the Supreme Power of all, as a King in an abſolute Monarchy (and ſuch is the Papal Power if theſe Opinions be true) may diſpence with ſome Forms, when the Matter is in it ſelf juſt; and if the chief deſign of a Law be purſued, the circumſtantial parts of it may upon extraordinary occaſions be ſuperſeded: Therefore, if the *Pope* is Supreme over all Kings, and has this depoſing Power; Then though by the Canon, a King ought to be firſt a Year Excommunicated for his Herely

or favouring Hereticks; and at the Years end he may be Depoſed by the Pope, (There are alſo other Rules for Excommunications, tho the Summary way in ſome caſes may be uſed) yet all theſe are but circumſtantial and leſſer Matters. The deſign of that Law, is, That no Heretical Prince, or favourer of Hereſie, be continued in his Power; The other, are but Forms of Law, that cannot be indiſpenſibly neceſſary in all caſes. Beſides, the very Canon Law teaches, that when there is both a *Notorietas juris & Facti*, Summary proceedings are Legal; when then it is Notorious, that the Doctrines of the Church (of *England* for Inſtance) are Heretical, and that the King is an Obſtinate Favourer of theſe Hereſies, and will not extirpate them, Summary and Secret proceedings are juſtifiable. There is no hope that Bulls, Breves, or Citations would do any good in this caſe: Theſe would on the contrary, alarm the State, and bring all the Party under great hazards: Therefore from the Nature of Supreme Power, it is moſt juſtly Inferred, That though there have been no publick Sentence of Depoſition (according to the Forms of the Canon Law) yet all theſe may be diſpenſed with, and a Secret and Summary one may do as well.

Theſe Poſitions are ſuch, that I cannot fanſie any juſt Exceptions to which they are liable; and from all theſe laid together, the Inference will undeniably follow: That according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the power of Depoſing Kings is lodged with the Pope, by a Divine Authority; and that, by conſequence, private perſons may conſpire to take away the Life of a King ſo depoſed: Even though there be no publick Sentence given about it. But before I bring the Evidence for all this, I ſhall deſire the Reader will a little reflect on the Poſitions I have laid down: in which he will find an Anſwer to all the Exceptions, that can be made againſt the following Evidence.

By

By the firſt, The Authority of the Church, being the ſame in all Ages; he will ſee it is to no purpoſe to pretend theſe were dark Ages: So that what was done in an ignorant time, cannot oblige the World when things are ſeen in a better light. But if the Church has an Authority from Chriſt, that ſhall laſt till the end of the World, it muſt be the ſame in all ages. The Ignorance of the age is a very good anſwer when made by a Proteſtant, but can ſignifie nothing in a *Papiſts* Mouth.

By the ſecond, Of the Churches authority in ſetling Moral Rules for practice, it appears how fond that diſtinction is, which they make between a Canon and a Decree. It is true, a Decree about a particular Caſe, in which there is ſome matter of Fact, may be wrong according to their Principles, and yet the authority of the Church remain entire. For inſtance, iu the depoſing a Prince, or condemning a Man for Hereſie, the Church may either by falſe Witneſſes, or miſtaking a Man's words, be drawn to paſs an unjuſt Sentence, by reaſon of a miſ-repreſentation of the Fact. But that is nothing to the purpoſe here, where a Decree is made as a perpetual Rule of Practice; this muſt be of the ſame authority of a Canon about any article of Faith. Otherwiſe it will follow, that the Church may miſlead the People in matters indiſpenſably neceſſary to Salvation: For ſuch is the Obedience to the Ten Commandments.

By the firſt way of judging of the Tradition of the Church, from what the moſt received Writers in any age deliver, as the Doctrine of the Church, it will appear; That the Schoolmen and Canoniſts are as competent Conveyers of Tradition from the twelfth age downward, as the Fathers were from the ſixth Age upward; and laying this for a Principle, That the Church is the ſame in all Ages, they are really more competent Witneſſes than the Fathers were. Firſt, Becauſe they write more cloſely to the ſubject they

have in hand; they consider what is said for, or against an Opinion in a more exact manner, than the Fathers did, who being carried with the heat they are sometimes in, go off from the purpose: and generally affect Eloquence, which is the most improper Stile for nice Matters: Whereas the Schoolmen write in a blunt way, only considering the purpose they are about, coyning the most barbarous words they can light on, when they think them the fittest to express their Notions. Secondly, They were divided into two famous Schools, among whom there were great heats, the *Scotists* and *Thomists:* So that if either of these had asserted any thing that was not the received Doctrine of the Age they lived in, the other Party had such Emulation against them, that they would not have failed to have laid them open: as they did in the matter of the Immaculate Conception of the B. Virgin. Whereas the Fathers writing only against Hereticks, or other Enemies to Christianity, they might have mistaken some things, without so publick a discovery as was likely to happen among the Schoolmen. 3dly. The Schoolmen wrote on purpose to deliver the Doctrine of the *Age* in which they lived, to those who were to succeed them. Their Books being generally the Divinity Lectures they read, either in Colledges or Religious Houses, to their Scholars, whereas the Fathers wrote upon Emergent Occasions, either Letters or Treatises to private Persons, regarding more the present, than the succeeding Age. In which we cannot expect that exactness, that is to be looked for in a Publick Lecture. Upon all which I assume, That allowing the Church to have the same Authority in all *Ages*, the Schoolmen are more competent Witnesses of the Tradition of the Church in their *Ages*, than the Fathers were in theirs.

By the second Rule for judging of Traditions, from the Conveyance of the See of *Rome*, it does undeniably follow,

low, That the Popes from *Gregory* the Sevenths time downward, were as ſure *Depoſitories* of the Traditions of the Church, as were the Popes from *Gregory* the Firſt his time upward. They were both alike Chriſt's Vicars, and St. *Peters* Succeſſors. So that all the high words that the Fathers beſtow on the See of *Rome*, were either Complements, in which they are not wanting, or were ſaid becauſe of the worth of the Biſhops, whom they had known in that See. But if they be to be underſtood in that ſence in which the Writers of Controverſy obtrude them on us, then it will follow manifeſtly, that as to the Conveyance of Tradition, P. *Gregory* the 7th is as much to be believed, when he ſays any thing in the Name of *St. Peter*, or of Chriſt, as any of the Popes are. For in the Preamble of Bulls and Breeves, the Reaſons are given of what follows, which are moſt commonly vouched from Apoſtolical Authority and Tradition. So let the Pope be ever ſo ignorant, or ſo corrupt in his Manners, what he aſſerts to be Apoſtolical Tradition, muſt be either received as ſuch, or the authority of that See is overthrown: therefore they muſt either ceaſe to preſs us any more with tht *Authority* of the See of *Rome*, or acknowledg that all the Popes Declarations, which they make about Traditions, are to be received. It is an Anſwer to be made uſe of only to ignorant Perſons, to ſay, Theſe *Depoſitions* were the Deeds of ſome Popes, who might be ill Men, and the Church is not concerned to juſtify them. I confeſs, whether this or that Depoſition was juſtly or lawfully made, is a perſonal thing, in which only the Pope who decreed it is concerned. But if he declares in the Preamble, that the Power of depoſing upon thoſe reaſons, is grounded on an *Apoſtolical* Tradition, then the See is concerned in it: for either he declares true or falſe; if the former, then that Power of depoſing comes from *Apoſtolical Tradition*; if they acknowledge he

he declares falſe, then we are not any more to be urged with the Authority of that See, as the certain Depoſitory of the Traditions of the Church.

By the third Mark, to judge of the Tradition of any age from the Deciſion of a General Council, it appears, that the Deciſions of the fourth Council of *Lateran* are as Obligatory as the Decrees of the firſt Council of *Nice*: the Church having the ſame power in all Ages. If it be ſaid, it was only a Council of the Weſtern Church, the like may be objected againſt the firſt General Council, which were generally made up of Eaſtern Biſhops, and very few of the Weſtern Biſhops ſat in them. And if we eſteem a Council *General*, becauſe it was received by the Church, then the whole Church of *Rome* having received that Council, it muſt be acknowledged to be *General* as much as any ever was. But to this, others anſwer, That a Council is only Infallible, when a thing is decreed by it according to the Tradition of the Church. If this be true, the whole Controverſie between the *Roman* Church and us, about the authority of Councils, is decided on our Side. For if a Council has only authority to declare Traditions, then it is free for every Perſon to examine, whether this Declaration be according to truth or not? And if it be found that it is not ſo, they may lawfully reject ſuch Deciſions. For inſtance in the ſecond Council of *Nice*, the worſhip of Images was eſtabliſhed upon a mock-ſhew of Tradition: and yet all the World knows, there were no Images allowed in the Church the firſt four Ages after *Chriſt*; and even in the ſixth Age P. *Gregory* declared, That though they might be in the Church, yet they ought not to be worſhipped. Nor was there any conteſt about it, before the eighth Century. This being thus examined, and found to be True, then according to the foregoing Anſwer, that Deciſion was of no force, though made by the ſecond Council of *Nice*. In a word,

word, if this Maxime be true, That Councils are only to be submitted to, when they decree according to Apostolical Tradition, then they have no Authority in themselves: and their decisions can have no more force than this, That it may seem probable that they were not mistaken, and in an Ignorant Age, even this probability will vanish to nothing

No Body will reject the Decision of a Council, when the Decrees are just and right: But if it be upon that score alone, that they are to be submitted to, then none are bound by them, before they have examined them: And if upon a Search it appear they decreed against Tradition, then their Decrees are to be rejected. So it is apparent this Answer does plainly, according to their Principles, lay the foundation of all Heresie; since it gives every Man a right to question the Decrees of a General Council.

Besides, How can those Persons be assured, that the fourth Council of *Lateran* did not decree according to Tradition? The Acts of that Council are lost: so we cannot know upon what reasons they made their Decrees. And it cannot be said, that because there is no mention made of any Tradition in the Decree, that therefore they considered none. It is seldom found that the reasons of any Decree are put with it. But we may reasonably enough believe, that they followed the Method in this Council, that had been used in some former ones (particularly in the second Council of *Nice*) which was this, a Writing was read, penned perhaps by the Pope, or a Patriarch, in which the Tradition of the Church was confidently alledged; and some Quotations were brought; and very oft out of some later Writers. The Paper was no sooner read, than a loud and often repeated Shout of applause followed, without any further search or canvasing about these Authorities. And upon that the Decree was made. This was the practice both

of

of the ſecond *Nicene*, and of ſome more ancient Councils; whoſe Journals are hitherto preſerved; and where the Journals are loſt, we have reaſon to believe they followed the ſame method: ſo that it is very probable there might have been ſome ſuch Writing read in the Council of *Lateran*. And if they did not found their Decree upon Tradition, they were much to blame; for they had as venerable a Tradition, as either the ſecond Council of *Nice*, or ſome other Councils had: a practice about 150 years ſtanding from the days of *Pope Gregory* the VII. ſo that it is not to be denied but they had as good authority from Tradition, to make this Decree, as to make moſt of the other Decrees, on which they inſiſt much, in the Books of Controverſies that are written by them.

By the fourth Rule of judging about Tradition, the matter is yet much plainer: for if the generally received Belief of any Age of the Church, is a good Thread to lead us up to the Apoſtles times, then there needs no more be ſaid. For it is certain, that for near four Ages together, this was the univerſally received Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, And the oppoſition that ſome Princes made to it was condemned as Hereſy, Rebellion, and every thing that was evil. And it is remarkable, that both *Ockam* that wrote much for the Emperors cauſe againſt the *Pope*, and *Gerſon* and *Almain*, no great favourers of Papal power, are cited by Cardinal *Perron*, as acknowledging the Eccleſiaſtical power of depoſing, if a Prince were guilty of ſpiritual crimes. So that the Controverſies in this matter that were managed between the Writers for the Popes and Emperors, were not, whether the Pope in caſes of Hereſy might depoſe a Prince? but were concerning two things very remote from this.

The one was, whether the Pope had a direct Temporal power over all Kings, by which as being Lord of the Fee, he could

could proceed upon any Cauſe whatſoever againſt a King, and take his Dominions from him. To this indeed *Gregory* the *7th* pretended tho more covertly, and *Boniface* the *8th* more avowedly. There was great Oppoſition made to this by many Writers; but at the ſame time they all agreed on it, as an undeniable Maxim, That the Pope had an indirect Power over Princes, by which in the Caſes of Hereſy he might excommunicate and depoſe them; nor was there ſo much as any Debate about it.

A ſecond thing about which there was ſome Controverſy was, whether the Particulars that fell under debate came within the Head of Hereſy, or not? So in the Caſe of Princes giving the Inveſtitures into Biſhopricks, the Pope brought it in within the Head of Hereſy, and condemned thoſe Perſons as *Simoniacks*. The Writers on the other ſide denied this, pretending it was a Civil Matter, and a right of the Crown. The like Debates fell in, when Princes were ſentenced on any other account. The Authority of the Sentence in the Caſe of Hereſy was not controverted; all the Queſtion was; Whether the Point under debate was Hereſy or not? And concerning theſe things, any who have read the Writings in the great Collection made of them by *Goldaſtus*, will receive an eaſy and full Satisfaction. By which it appears, that the Popes Power of depoſing Kings in the Caſe of Hereſy was the received Doctrine of the Church for ſeveral Ages, and by conſequence it muſt be looked on as derived down from the Apoſtles, If the Doctrine of any one Age of the Church can lead us backward in a certain Track to diſcover what it was in the Apoſtles days.

By the firſt Poſition about the Nature of Supreme Power, it is apparent, that in the Caſe of Hereſy, a Prince depoſed by the Pope, if he ſtands out againſt the Sentence, may be as lawfully killed as any Tory or Moſs-

Trooper, or Bantito, may be; for he is a Rebel againſt his Lord, and an Uſurper over the People, from that day forward. And therefore tho *Mariana* told a Secret too publickly, yet it cannot be denied to be a certain Conſequent of their Principles. It had been indeed more diſcreetly done to have ordered this only to be infuſed unto Peoples Conſciences, by their Confeſſors in ſecret. And for *Mariana*, tho the Book in groſs is condemned, as they give out, yet the Opinions ſet down in it are not cenſured. But (*a*) *Suarez* writing againſt K. *James*, tells him in plain Terms, *That a King, who is canonically depoſed, may be killed by any man whatſoever.* This was not only publiſhed with an ordinary Licenſe, but the whole Univerſity of *Alcala* declared every thing in it to be according to the Doctrine of the Church. *Valentia*, tho he diſguiſes it a little, yet ſays, *That an Heretical Prince may by the Popes Sentence be deprived of his Life.* (*b*) *Foulis* cites ten more Doctors for the ſame Opinion of killing Kings by private perſons.

(*a*) In regiam Majeſt. *Br. l.* 6. c. 4. ſect. 20, à quocunque privato poteris interfici.

In Thom. *Tom.* 3. *Diſp.* 151. q 12. p. 2.

(*b*) *Romiſh Treſons*, l. 2. cap 4.

I do not build upon the Aſſertions of theſe Jeſuits, as binding Authorities in that Church, but make uſe of them to ſhew, that ſome of their own eminenteſt Writers acknowledg the force of this Conſequence; which is indeed ſo evident, that nothing but good Manners, and ſome ſmall Care not to provoke Princes too much by ſuch bare-faced Poſitions, keeps others from aſſerting it. Few Princes are ſo tame as *Childeric* was, to go into a Monaſtery after they are depoſed. Therefore this Doctrine is but a lame proviſion for the Churches Security from Hereſie, if the Lawfulneſs of killing does not follow that of depoſing Kings. And it was ſo generally received, that it is told of *Gerſon*, that he was at great pains to get it declared that no private Cut-throat might kill a King, and that by conſequence it was only the

The Life of Gerſon *before his Works*, and Tom. 1. p. 375.

the Popes Prerogative to order them to be deſtroyed.

By the ſecond Poſition about the Nature of Supreme Power, that in extraordinary Caſes Forms of Law may be ſuperſeded; It is alſo clear, that tho we know nothing of any Sentence of Depoſition given out againſt the King, yet he is not a whit the ſafer, for he lies under an yearly Curſe every *Maundy Thurſday*. The Notoriouſneſs of his Hereſy will ſufficiently juſtify a particular Sentence, without any further Proceſs or Citation, according to the Maxims of the Canon Law. And there may be for ought we can know, as valid a Depoſition as Parchment and Lead can make it, already expeded. And if it be not yet done, we are ſure it may be done very ſuddenly, and will be done whenſoever they ſee any probability of Succeſs.

Bellarmine hath very ſincerely told us the Reaſon why Heretical Princes are not depoſed, becauſe the Church has not ſtrength enough to make ſuch a Sentence good, or does not think it expedient; that is to ſay, They will do it whenſoever they find a Prince who will execute the Sentence, and yet by that Conqueſt not grow ſo ſtrong, as by that means to turn the Ballance. So the two Conſiderations to which we owe our Security are, the want of Force, and the Fear of another Prince his becoming too powerful by the Conqueſt. But I muſt add, that *Bellarmine*, while he was a Jeſuite, had taught, that Heretical Princes were not to be depoſed, except they endeavoured to turn their people from the Faith: This was all his Bounty to them of which we could not pretend to a Crumb, ſince there were ſuch Laws made againſt Popery among us. Yet when he became a Cardinal, he conſidered better of the Matter; ſo that in his Recognitions he retracts that, and ſays therein he followed *Durandus* his Opinion, who maintains it againſt *Aquinas*,

Recog. in lib. 5. de Rom. Pont.

but he thinks the latter was in the right, and ſays, *Even in that Caſe they may be depoſed, only the Church does it not always; either becauſe ſhe wants Strength, or does not judge it expedient.* But he concludes, *If Princes endeavour to draw their Subjects from the Faith, they may and ought to be depoſed.* So in our Caſe there is no Mercy to be expected, unleſs we repeal all Laws againſt that Religion.

But after all this there is another Device in the Canon-Law, called, *Ipſo facto*, by which a Sentence is incurred immediately upon the doing of a Fact. This began in the Priviledges granted to Monaſteries or Churches, in moſt of which this Clauſe is to be found, *That if any King or Prince*, &c. *did any thing contrary to theſe Priviledges, he thereby fell from his Power and Dignity.* Now that Hereſy is one of the things upon which a Prince is *ipſo facto* under Excommunication and Depoſition, we have the Authority of Father (*e*) *Parſons*, or *Creſwel*, who tells us, *That the whole School of Divines and Canoniſts agree in it*, and, *That it is certain, and of Faith, That a Prince falling from the Catholick Religion, and endeavouring to draw away others from it, does immediately fall from all his Power and Dignity, even before the Pope has pronounced any Sentence, and that his Subjects are free from their Oaths of Obedience, and may eject ſuch an one as Apoſtate and Heretick.*

(*e*) *Philopater* p. 106, 107.

But there is a clearer Evidence for this; the great and famous College of the *Sorbon*, (ſeventy Doctors being preſent) when conſulted, whether the People of *France* were not freed from their Obedience to *Henry* the third, upon his putting the Duke and Cardinal of *Guiſe* to death; they, before ever the Pope had given Sentence, declared, *That they were abſolved from their Obedience, and might with a good Conſcience make War upon him for the defence of the Catholick Faith.* Upon which the *Pariſians* wrote

wrote to the Pope to desire the Confirmation of that Decision. From all which it appears, that if the deposing Power be in the Pope, the King is not a whit the safer, because we know nothing of any such Sentence pronounced against him.

And thus having made good and illustrated the Positions I laid down, against all the Exceptions which that small and condemned Party of *Widdrirgton*'s Followers make use of, to cover themselves from the Charge of Treason, that lies against their Church; I go next to lay open the Evidence, after which I shall leave it to every Man's Conscience to pass the Verdict.

There are in (*f*) Pope *Gregory* the Great's Works, four Priviledges granted; one to the Abbey of St. *Medard*, another to the Hospital, a third to the Nunnery, a fourth to St. *Martin*'s Church of *Autim*. In which after the Priviledges are granted, a Sanction is added in these words; *If any Kings*, &c. *shall endeavour to countervene this Writing, let him lose the Dignity of his Power and Honour*. Or shorter, in that of St. *Medard*, *Let him be deprived of his Dignity*. These are to be found both in all the MSS, and Printed Editions of that Popes Works. It is true, the first of these to Saint *Medard*'s Monastery, is looked on as a forged Piece, both by Cardinal *Perron*, *Sirmond*, and *Lannoy*. But as it went for a true one till of late, and is still defended by others, *Baronius* in particular, concluding from thence for the Popes Power over Kings; so the other Priviledges are not denied to be true by any, except *Lannoy* of late, for ought I know. These have been for above 600 years looked on as the Grants of that Pope. But this may seem a private Writing, and not of such force.

(*l*) Greg. M. l. 2 post. Ep. 38. lib. 11. Ep. 10, 11, 12. Siquis Regum, &c. contravenire tentaverit potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat.---*in alio* honore suo privetur.

About 130 years after that, Pope (*g*) *Gregory* the 3*d* deposed *Leo* the Emperor, from all his Dominions in *Italy*,

(*g*) Baron. ad An. 730. n. 5.

Italy, becauſe he would not tolerate the Worſhip of Images. And if that ſingle Hereſie merited ſuch a Sentence, what may we look for, among whoſe many imputed Errors this is but one, and none of the moſt conſiderable? Not many years after that, did his Succeſſor *Zacharias* upon a Meſſage he received from *France*, abſolve that Nation from their Oaths to *Childeric*, and ordered *Boniface* to Crown *Pepin* in his ſtead. And not long after that Pope *Adrian* gave the Empire of *Rome*, and of the Weſt to *Charles* the Great. As (*h*) *Bellarmine* proves from above 30 of the Hiſtorians of that time, and the Teſtimony of many Soveraign Princes. Yet theſe being dark Ages, in which there was more of Action than Diſpute, we do not find the Grounds laid down, on which thoſe Proceedings were founded. But the conſtant Maxim of the Papacy, was, once to begin a Practice, and then to find Arguments to defend it, among which the Practice it ſelf was no inconſiderable one; for he was a mean ſpirited Pope, that would in a Tittle fall ſhort of what his Predeceſſors had aſſumed. About 250 years after *Charles* the Great had aſſumed the Empire of the Weſt, there aroſe a Pope (*Gregory* the Seventh) that reſolved to make the moſt of his See that could be: and reckoning, That the Empire of the Weſt was the *Gift* of his *Predeceſſors*, and building on that known Maxim, That none can give that which they have not, he looked on the ſupreme Dominion of it, as one of the Perquiſites of the See, which he would by no means part with. And therefore in his (*i*) *Dictatis*, in which he aſſerts the ſeveral Branches of his Prerogative, theſe be three of them: *That the Pope only may uſe the Imperial Enſigns. That he may depoſe Emperours.* And, *That he can abſolve Subjects from their Fidelity to wicked Princes.* And to ſhew he was in earneſt in theſe Doctrines, he began ſoon

(*h*) *Bellar.* de Tranſ. Imperii Romani.

(*i*) Dictatus l. 2. poſt Ep. 55.

to

to lay about him. His first Threatnings were against King *Philip* of *France*, who was a vicious Prince: In a Letter to the Bishops of *France*, he requires them to admonish the King for his Faults, and if he did not mend them, to put the whole Kingdom under an Interdict: And if after all that he continued still Disobedient, he Swaggers out in these Words, (*k*) *We will have none to be ignorant, or doubtful, what we intend to do upon it; for by the help of God we will endeavour by all Means, to wrest the Kingdom of* France *out of his Possession.* But upon the submission of that King, these Threatnings came not to any effect: Yet he went on against the Emperor, *Hen.* the 4*th*, at the rate he had threatned the King of *France*. I need not tell what all the World knows: That he first Excommunicated and Deposed the Emperor, in the Year 1076. Then upon his doing of Penance, he received him into his Favour. But upon new provocations he deposed him a second, a third, and fourth time, in the years 1080, 1081, and 1083. In all which he had the concurrence of so many *Roman* Councils, and set up against him, first *Rodolph*, after that *Herman*: as his Successors did; first *Conrade*, and then *Henry*, that Emperor's unnatural Sons.

(*k*) Lib 2. Ep. 5. ad Ep. France.

The prosecution of the History, is needless to my Design. But in his Letter to *Herman*, Bishop of *Mets*, (*l*) we meet with that which is more considerable. For there he largely justifies his Proceedings, which he grounds on the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, being given to St. *Peter*; and the power of Binding and Loosing joined to them. More places of Scripture he sought not, but his Successor, (*m*) *Boniface* the 8*th*, made use of *Ecce duo Gladii*, and the power given to the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Over Kingdoms, to Root out, Pull down, Destroy, Throw down, to Build, and to plant*: And they took

(*l*) Liv. 8. Ep. 21.

(*m*) Extra. de Major. & Obed. *cap.* 1.

took it in great dudgeon, if any would compare a ſingle Prophet under the Law, to Chriſt's Vicar under the Goſpel. But *Gregory* goes on in his Proofs, to the Tradition of the Church: And ſays, The Fathers had often both in General Councils, and in their particular Writings acknowledged, That this Power was in the See of *Rome*; That it was the Mother and Head of all other Churches: That all matters were to be judged by it, from whoſe Sentence no Appeal could lye: Nor could there be a Review made of the Judgments paſſed in that See. And to confirm what he had aſſerted, he cites ſome Paſſages out of *Gelaſius*, and *Julius*, and that Clauſe in the Priviledges granted by *Gregory* the Great, formerly mentioned. So here he very fully and formally delivers the Tradition of the Church, and builds upon it. He alſo cites the Precedent of Pope *Zacharias*, his Depoſing *Childeric*, not for any fault he found in him, but becauſe he thought him not fit to Govern. From that he goes on to ſome Reaſons, (ſuch as they are) for the juſtification of his Proceedings. The Pope having thus declared the Tradition and Doctrine of the Church, it is not to be wondred at, if both the Schoolmen mixt it with the Inſtructions they gave their Scholars, and the Canoniſts made it a part of the Law of the Church. (n) *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, *Alexander Alenſis*, *Bonaventure*, *Durand*, *Peter of Aliac*, *John of Paris*, *Almain*, *Gabriel Biel*, *Henry of Ghant*, *John Driodo*, *John de Terre-iremata*, *Albert Pighius*, *Thomas Waldenſis*, *Petrus de Palude*, *Cajetan*, *Franciſcus Victoria*, *Dominicus a Soto*, and many others, (in all 70 are reckoned by *Bellarmin*, but *Foulis* enlarges the number to 177, whom he cites, who) did formally aſſert it. *Aquinas* alſo taught it; tho' in ſome places he contradicted himſelf. But (o) *Boniface* the 8*th*, thought his Predeceſſors had

(n) Bellar. *de Pont. Rom. lib.* 5. *c.* 151.

(o) *Cuſpiman in vita* Albert.

had proceeded in this matter too cautiously, and therefore he went more roundly to work. In the Jubilee in the year 1300, He shewed himself the first day in the Pontifical Habit, but the second day, he was clothed with the Imperial Habit, a naked Sword being carried before him, and cried out with a loud voice, *I am Pope and Emperor, and have both the Earthly, and Heavenly Empire.* This upon so publick an occasion looks very like the Teaching the Church *Ex Cathedra:* But because words vanished into Air, he left it in writing, in these terms: (p) *We say and define and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to Salvation for every humane creature, to be subject to the Bishop of Rome.* This being put into the Text of the Canon Law, in which it is continued to this day; we cannot think it Strange that *Panormitan, Ostiensis, Silvester,* with all the other Canonists assert the Popes direct Dominion over all the World. And what can they say less, Believing him to be Christs Vicar on Earth, *to whom all Power in heaven and earth was given of his Father,* therefore the power in Heaven being judged enough for Christ to manage himself, they thought all the power in Earth was Committed to the Vicar. This passed down without Contradiction among them, but was not received by the rest of the Church: yet the Indirect, or as they termed it, the Ecclesiastical power in cases of Heresie was Universally agreed to: not one person Opposing it, till *Luther* and his Followers came, sawcily to look into the Popes Title to this, and many other pretended Rights of the See of *Rome.*

(p) *Cap. de Major. ut Obed. Exter.*

But because the Plea for an Indirect Power, was not Sufficient, Since if a Prince did not Favour Heresie, it was of no use: And the pretention to a direct power was of an harsh sound: Therefore a Title of another kind was set up. It was pretended, That all the Kingdoms

in the Western and Northern parts of *Europe* were by formal Surrenders offered up to St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*; And therefore whatever the Popes did, was said to be done in Defence of their Rights; which made *Gregory* the 7th fly to them in that flanting Address, with which he begins his Sentences against the Emperor.

First of all, the Donation of *Constantine* the Great was forged: By which the Power of all the West, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, were given to the Pope. This was put into the Text of the Canon Law: and was stood to, by all the Canonists. It is true the Civilians wrote generally against it. Among whom *Bartholus* may be reckoned, for in his Preface to the *Digests* having mentioned the Opinions of some against it, when it comes to his own, he delivers it thus; *Take notice that we are now in the Territory of the Church* (for he taught at *Bulloigne*) *and therefore I say that Donation is valid.* But till *Valla* discovered the Impostures of it so manifestly, that they are now ashamed to maintain it any longer, their plea from it was never laid down. But *Augustinus Steuchus*, who undertakes the Vindication of that Donation against *Valla*, does likewise alledge from some Instruments in the *Vatican*, that both the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *Arragon*, *France*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Muscovy*, *Sicily*, and *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, did Subject their Crowns to the See of *Rome*. (b) *Kranzius* tells us, that *Lakold* King of *Poland*, made it Tributary to *Rome*. And for the *German* Empire, tho *Steuchus* says nothing of it, perhaps that he might not offend *Charles* the 5th, yet there is both in the Canon Law, and the Letters of Popes, more to be said upon that Head, than for any of the rest. They pretend the Popes set up first the Empire of the West: Then gave the Princes of *Germany* the Right of chooſing the Emperor, and does still give the Imperial

(b) *In Vandal* l. 8. c. 2.

perial Crown, upon the Emperors Swearing an Oath of Homage to them, according to the verſe under that Inſolent Picture ſet up by Pope *Innocent* the 2d. In the *Lateram* (r) of the Emperor lying proſtrate at his feet, and receiving the Crown from him.

(r) *Chron. Herſaug. in vita Abb. Hartingi.*

Poſt homo ſit Papæ, ſumit quo dante Coronam.

But all theſe Surrenders were made uſe of only to ſtrengthen the great pretention they had of being Chriſts Vicars, and St. *Peters* Succeſſours; which from the end of the 11th Century, till the beginning of the 16th. for above 4 Ages together was as Authoritatively aſſerted by Popes, as poſitively taught by Divines, and as tamely received by the whole Church, Emperors and Kings not preſuming to contradict it, as any other Article of Faith. And for proofs of this we need appeal to no other witneſſes than thoſe 3. great Cardinals *Baronius*, *Bellarmin* and *Perron*, who may be preſumed to have nnderſtood the Doctrine of their own Church, better than any body elſe.

The Firſt of thoſe, through his whole work ſtrains his Induſtry, to diſcover as many Inſtances as he can of it: and never parts with any without expreſſing the particular ſatisfaction he had in ſo pleaſant a Diſcovery. I ſhall only ſet down what he ſays on the two 1ſt. occaſions that he met with. When he takes notice of *Gregory* the Great's priviledges formerly mentioned, he adds, (t) *You ſee Reader, That the Popes can make Laws, to which if Kings themſelves do not yield Obedience, they ſhall loſe their Kingdoms.* Upon the firſt Depoſition made by *Gregory* the 3d. He adds, (t) *The Faithful in the Weſt being awakened by this Thunder, do immediately fall from the Obedience to* Leo, *adhering to this Apoſtolical Pope. So this*

(t) *Bar. ad Ann.* 593. *Num.* 86.

(t) *Bar. ad An.* 730. *Num.* 5.

Gregory *left a worthy Precedent to Posterity, that Heretical Princes, be not suffered to reign in the Church of Christ, if having been often admonished, they continue to persist obstinately in their Errors.* Such strains as these do so often occur afterwards, that they can scarce be reckoned. It is well known what advice he gave P. *Paul* the 5th in the quarrel with the *Venetians*, applying the voice to St. *Peter, Arise and Kill*, to the case in hand; and that, with his Insolent *Paræneſis* to that *Republick*, are clear Evidences of his sence in this matter. What *Bellarmin* taught more shortly and obscurely in his Controversies, was afterwards made more plain both by his Writings, about the Translation of the *Roman* Empire, upon the Interdict of *Venice*, and against King *James*, and *William Barklay*: And Cardinal *Perrons* Eloquent speech against the Bill put in by the Third Estate of *France*, for Condemning those pretensions of a Deposing Power, shews us not only his own sense, but the sense of the whole Clergy of *France*; in whose name he delivered it. (*u*) He calls the Contrary Opinion, *a Doctrine that breeds Schisms, a Gate that leads unto all Heresie, and so detestable, that he and his Fellow Bishops will choose to burn at a Stake rather than consent to it.* He affirming *That all the parts of the Catholick Church, and of the Church of* France *in particular, and all the Schools of Divinity, till the coming of* Calvin, *held the affirmative*, and says, *That no where in* France *since the Divinity Schools were set up, can they find any one Doctor, Divine, or Lawyer, any Decree, Council, or Sentence of Parliament, or any one Magistrate Ecclesiastick, or Politick, who had held that in case of Heresie or Idolatry, Subjects might not be absolved from their Oaths of Fidelity to their Princes.* It is true, at first he spake more modestly, and pretended the thing was problematical, and so was not fit matter for an Oath: but when that modester

(*u*) In his *Diverſis Oevres* and *Recueil General des Affaires du Clergé de France.*

ſter Strain (tho it tended all to depreſs the Regal, and exalt the Papal Power) had ſo far prevailed with the King, that he ordered the matter to be laid aſide, and not to be further inſiſted on. They were not ſatisfied with this, but made a new Addreſs in the Name of the Clergy; and the Cardinal ſpake now in a higher tone, aſſerting formally the Popes indirect Power in Temporals; and that all who maintained the contrary were Schiſmaticks, and Hereticks, even thoſe of the Parliament it ſelf; and did plainly threaten the King, That if he did not raze all the Proceedings out of the Regiſter, the Clergy would leave the Aſſembly, and Excommunicate all who denied the Popes Power of Depoſing. And if the King would not ſuffer them to execute theſe Cenſures, they would proceed upon their hazard tho they were to ſuffer Martyrdom for it. For which zeal, they received a Breve from the Pope, giving them his ſolemn Thanks for what they had done; deſiring them to perſevere in the ſame mind. So we have in this inſtance, not only Cardinal *Perrons* own mind, but the ſenſe of the whole Clergy of *France*.

I do not think it neceſſary to enquire further into the opinion of later Writers; tho it were eaſie to ſhew, that to this day, both the Court of *Rome*, the whole Order of the Jeſuites, the Writers both of Controverſies, and Caſes of Conſcience, and the Expoſitors of Scripture, do as oft as occaſion offers, aſſert the power of Depoſing Kings to be ſtill in the See of *Rome*. And tho ſome few Writers of that Religion, ſince *Barkelay* and *Widdrington*'s time, both of the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Nation, have adventured to deny this power; they have been cenſured for it, and branded with Hereſy. This has been ſo notorious in the matter of the Iriſh Remonſtrance, that I need ſay no more of it.

But

But whether the Writers of this Age allow it or not, they are bound according to their Doctrine about Tradition, to acknowledg it; since two of the Characters of Tradition are found to agree to it. For it has been delivered in several Ages of the Church, as true Catholick Doctrine by all the publick Doctors in these times: so that either This is a Tradition of the Church, or That is not a true mark of Tradition: nor is it a certain conveyance of Truth, if we may be thus deceived in a clear Tradition, for four Ages successively. It does also appear, that if the See of *Rome* be a faithful Depositary and Transmitter of Church Traditions, this must be one, since it is delivered to the world by so many Popes in the names of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and founded on the *Power of the Keys*, and *of Binding and Looſing* granted to St. *Peter*.

But I shall next shew how the third mark of Tradition, the Authority of General Councils, agrees to this Doctrine. When this Doctrine had been so well spread over *Europe*, then the Popes found it was safe, to trust it to the judgment of such an Assembly as they esteemed a General Council. And they proceeded in this matter, after the same manner that they had done in the worship of Images: and as they did afterwards in the points of Transubstantiation, and denying the Chalice in the Communion. They took care first to infuse it into all the Clergy, (which God wot's was no hard thing) and then brought them together, and made up the Pageant of a Council, for giving it more authority. So above an hundred years after *Gregory* the VII. had first taught this Doctrine, a thing under the name of a General Council sate in the *Lateran* at *Rome*, where, upon the advantage the Popes had against the *Albigenſes* and others, who were according to their Opinion most pestiferous Hereticks; they first procured a Decree for it. It is true, many Provincial

vincial Councils had concurred with *Gregory* the VII. (one of these is called a General one, 110 Bishops being present) and the other Popes who had formerly given out these Thunders: But now the matter was to be more solemnly Transacted.

In this Council many Hereticks are condemned and Excommunicated; *and all that had sworn Oaths of Fidelity or Homage to them, are Absolved from those Oaths: and they are required in order to the obtaining the Remission of their sins, to fight against them: and those who die doing penance in that manner, may without doubt expect Indulgence for their sins, with eternal rewards.* And in conclusion, *by the authority of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul *they Remit to all who shall rise and fight against them, two years Penance.* Here the Council does industriously infuse this Doctrine into all people; and calls Rebellion *Penance* (a very easy one to a poor or discontented Subject) and assures them of a deliverance from Purgatory, and that they should be admitted straight to Heaven for it. In an Age in which these things were believed, more effectual means than those could not be found out, to engage the people in it. *Conc. Late. 3. Chap. 27. anno 1287. Tom 28.*

By this Decree, if we are guilty of the Heresies then condemned, (as no doubt we are of most of them) without more ado, or any further Sentence, upon the declaring us guilty of the Heresies of the *Albigenses*, the Subjects are delivered from their obligations to the King. And when they conspire or rebel against him, they are only doing penance for their sins; and he were hard-hearted that would punish men only for doing of penance.

About thirty years after that Council, the Pope had a mind to regulate the former Law, That the Deposing of Kings might be declared a part of his Prerogative; and that

that thereby he might with authority Diſpoſe of their Kingdoms to others. For hitherto the Popes had only pretended to the Power of Depoſing, and then the States of the Kingdom as in an Interregne, were to chooſe a new Prince. But P. *Innocent* the III. thought it was half work, except he could beſtow, as well as take away Crowns. His Predeceſſor *Celeſtine* had in a moſt extravagant humour ſet the Crown on *Henry* the Sixth his head, with his two feet, and then kickt it off again; to ſhew, according to *Barronius* his Comment, *That it was in his power to give, to maintain, and take away the Empire.*

Conc. Later. 4. *Can.* 3. *Tom.* 28. The ſame Council that eſtabliſhed Tranſubſtantiation.

A very full Aſſembly therefore being called of about 1200 of one ſort or other to the *Lateran* again, It was firſt Decreed, *That the aid of Secular Princes ſhould be required for the Extirpating of Hereticks*; after that they proceed and enact thus. *When the Temporal Lord required or admoniſhed by the Church, ſhall neglect to purge his Territory from Heretical wickedneſs, let him be Excommunicated by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans. And if he perſiſt in neglecting to give ſatisfaction for the ſpace of a year, let him be ſignified to the Pope: That he from thenceforth may pronounce his Subjects diſcharged from their Obedience; and expoſe his Territory to be ſeized on by Catholicks, who having exterminated the Hereticks, ſhall poſſeſs it without contradiction, and preſerve it in the purity of the Faieh; ſo as no injury le done to the Right of the Supreme Lord, where there is ſuch, provided he do not any way oppoſe himſelf: and the ſame Law is to take place on them, who have no Superiour Lord.*

The Depoſition of the Court of *Tholouſe*, being the thing then in their eye, made that the Decree runs chiefly againſt Feudatary Princes, yet as the laſt Clauſe takes in Soveraign Princes, ſo by the Clauſe before, it was provided, *That if the Soveraign did any way Oppoſe what was*

was done againſt his Vaſſal, he was to forfeit his Right. I did in the former part of this Letter, meet with all the Exceptions that are commonly made to this Canon. Only one pretty Anſwer which a perſon of Honour makes, is yet to be conſidered. He tells us, that there were ſo many Soveraign Princes, or Ambaſſadors from them, at this Council, that we are to look on this Decree, as a thing to which thoſe Princes conſented. From whence he Infers, It was rather their Act, than an Invaſion of their Rights made by that Council. But be it ſo, he knows they allow no Preſcription againſt the Church. If then thoſe Princes conſented to it, upon which the power of Depoſing had that Acceſſion to fortifie it by, it can never be recalled nor preſcribed againſt. It is true there were many Ambaſſadors from Princes there: But they were all ſuch as either held their Dominions by the Popes Grant, or had been either Depoſed by him, or Threatned with Depoſitions, or were the Children of thoſe whom he had Depoſed. So no wonder they ſtood in ſuch fear of the Pope, that they durſt not refuſe to conſent to every thing he had a mind to. For indeed this Council did only give their *Placet* to a paper of Decrees penned by the Pope.

Henry called the *Greek* Emperor, Brother to *Baldwin*, that had ſeized on *Conſtantinople*, had no other Title to it beſides the Popes Gift. *Frederick* the 2d. who had been the Popes Ward, was then the Elect Emperor of *Germany*, made ſo at the Popes Inſtance, who had Depoſed the two Immediately preceding Emperours, *Philip* and *Otho* the 4th. the laſt being at that time alive; So that he durſt not contradict the Pope, leſt he ſhould have ſet up *Otho* againſt him. But no Emperor, except *Henry* the 4th, ever ſuffered more from the Popes Tyranny, than he did afterwards. One ſad Inſtance of it was, that the Pope having

preſſed his March to the Holy-land much, did at laſt Excommunicate him for his delays: upon which, he to avoid further cenſures, carried an Army thither: which was ſo ſucceſful, that the Pope who hoped he ſhould have been deſtroyed in the Expedition, (as the firſt Emperor of that name was) now being vexed at his Succeſs, complained that he ſhould have preſumed to go thither, while he lay under Excommunication, and was in Rebellion againſt him; and went about not only to Dethrone him, but to get him to be betrayed by the Knights Hoſpitallers, and Templers, into the Sultans hands, who abominating that Treachery, revealed it to him.

John of *Brenne* had the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* by that ſame Popes Gift, who took it from *Almeric* King of *Cyprus*, and gave it him; But *Almeric* had no cauſe to complain, ſince he held *Cyprus* only by the ſame Copy of the Popes Gift: So they both were at the Popes Mercy. Our *John* of *England* was his Vaſſal, as he uſually called him; But his Succeſſour went higher, calling the King of *England* not only his Vaſſal, but *his Slave*; and Declared *That at his beck he could procure him to be Impriſoned, and Diſgraced.* *James* King of *Arragon*, who was alſo the Popes Ward, had no leſs reaſon to be afraid of the Pope, who had Depoſed his Father for Aſſiſting the Count of *Thelouſe*. *Philip Auguſtus* King of *France*, had his Kingdom twice put under an Interdict, worſe things being alſo threatned. The like Threatnings had been made to *Andrew* King of *Hungary*, but upon his Submiſſion he was received into favour.

Math. Paris. ad An. 1253.

And now is it any wonder, that thoſe Princes gave way to ſuch a Decree, when they knew not how to help themſelves by Oppoſing it, which would have raiſed a Storm, that they could not hope to weather?

Another thing is remarkable concerning this time, by which

which the Belief of the Depoſing Doctrine in that Age will better appear. Other Princes whom Popes had Depoſed, procured ſome Civilians to write for them; and got Synods of Biſhops ſometimes on their ſide againſt the Pope. Becauſe it was evident the Pope proceeded not upon the Account of Hereſie, but of private ſpite and hatred. But in the caſe of the Count of *Tholouſe*, who was a manifeſt Favourer of that, which was eſteemed Hereſie, (the Opinions of the *Albigenſes* that were his Subjects) not a Writer in all that Age durſt undertake to defend his cauſe, nor could he procure one Biſhop to be of his ſide. So univerſally was it received, that in the caſe of Hereſie, a Prince might be Depoſed by the Pope.

The 3d General Council that Confirmed this Power, was the Council of *Lions*, held by *Innocent* the 4th againſt the forementioned *Frederick* the 2d, where (as the Sentence bears) *The Pope having Conſulted with his Brethren and the Holy Council, being Chriſts Vicar on Earth, to whom it was ſaid in the perſon of St.* Peter, *whatſoever ye bind on Earth, &c. Declares the Emperor bound in his ſins, and thereupon Deprived by God of his Dominions. Whereupon he by his Sentence does Depoſe him, and abſolves all from their Oaths of Fidellty to him. Straitly charging all perſons, to acknowledge him no more either Emperor or King. Declaring all that did otherwiſe, Excommunicated* ipſo facto. There are in this Proceſs ſeveral things very remarkable. It is grounded on a pretence to a Divine Tradition; So here the whole Council concur with the Pope, in aſſerting this power to flow from that Conveyance. And thus either that Tradition is true, or the Councils are not to be believed when they Declare a Tradition. 2ly. Tho this is but a Decree in one particular Inſtance, yet it is founded on the General Rule; And ſo is a Confirmation of it, by which it is put out of doubt that the 4th Council of *Lateran* included Soveraign Prin-

Conc. Lugd. Tom. 28.

ces within their Decree. 3ly, When the Emperors Advocate appeared to plead for him; He did not at all except to their Juriſdiction over him, or Power of Depoſing in the caſe of Hereſie, but denyed that the Emperor was guilty of the crimes Objected, namely Hereſie, whereby he, at leaſt, waved the denial of their Power in that caſe. He alſo deſired ſome time might be granted for the Emperor to appear and plead for himſelf in perſon. Whereby he plainly acknowledged their Juriſdiction. 4ly When the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England*, Interceded that the Emperors deſire might be granted; the Council gave him near two weeks time to appear in: which was ſo incompetent a time, and all had declared themſelves ſo prepoſſeſt, or rather ſo overawed by the Pope that hated him Mortally; That the Emperor would not appear becauſe they were his profeſſed Adverſaries. And upon that, and other grounds (none of them touching on the power of Depoſing in caſes of Hereſie) He appealed from them, to the next General Council; Upon which the Pope and Prelates ſitting in Council, with Candles burning in their hands, thundred out the Sentence againſt him.

Here were three very publick Judgments, of three General Councils on this Head, within the compaſs of ſixty years. But it may be imagined, theſe were Councils that wholly depended on the Pope; and ſo their Decrees are to be looked on, only as a Ceremony uſed by the Pope to make his own Sentence look more ſolemn. But when upon the long Schiſm in the See of *Rome*, the power of that See was much ſhaken, and a Council met at *Conſtance* to heal that Breach; in which the Biſhops taking advantage from that Conjuncture, to recover their former Dignity, began to Regulate many matters. It may be, upon ſuch an occaſion, expected, that if any Party in the Church had diſliked theſe practices, they ſhould have been

been now condemned; and that the rather, since by so doing, the Bishops might have hoped to get the Princes to be of their side, in their Contests with the Pope. But it fell out quite otherwise. For as the Murtherers of his late Sacred Majesty pretended, when the King was killed, that all his power was devolved on them, and would have even the same precedence allowed their Ambassadors in forreign parts, that his had: So the Council of *Constance* reckoned, that whatever Rights the Popes had assumed, did now rest with them, as the Supreme Power of the Church. For in one of their Sessions, a Decree was framed, made up of all the severe Decrees that had ever been made, against those who violated the Rights of the Church: And this Clause often returns, *That all the Breakers of these Priviledges, whether they were Emperors, Kings, or whatsoever other Degree, were thereby,* ipso facto, *subjected to the Banns, Punishments, and Censures set down in the Council of* Lateran. And tho they do not call it the Fourth Council, yet we are sure it could be no other; for they relate to that in which *Frederick* the 2d. was consenting to, which was the fourth in the *Lateran* And in another Decree, by which they hoped to have set up a Succession of General Councils, at evety ten years end; this Clause is added, *That if any person, whether of the Papal* (for they had subjected the Pope to the Council, and had more reason to fear his opposing this Decree, than any Bodies else) *Imperial or Regal Dignity, &c. should presume to hinder any to come to the next General Council, he is declared to be first Excommunicated, then under an Interdict, and then to be subject to further punishment both Temporal and Spiritual.* And in the Pass they gave the King of the *Romans*, to go to the King of *Arragon*, they add this Sanction, *That whatever person, whether King, Cardinal, &c. do hinder him in his Journey, he is* ipso facto, *deprived of all Honour, Dignity, Office, or Benefice, whether Eccle-*

Conc. Const. Tom. 29. Sess. 19.

Sess. 15.

Sess. 17.

Eccleſiaſtical or Secular. So here the indirect power over Princes, by which they may be both depoſed and puniſhed, is plainly aſſumed. It is true that ſame Council did indeed Decree, That no Subject ſhould murther his King or Prince; upon which ſome of our *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Writers, who condemn theſe practices, think they have great advantages. That Decree was procured by *Gerſons* means, who obſerving that by the many Rebellions that had been generally ſet on by Popes, the Perſons of Princes were brought under ſuch contempt, that private Aſſaſſinations came to be practiſed: and in particular that of the Duke of *Orleance* by the Duke of *Burgundy*: Therefore to prevent the fatal conſequences which were like to follow on that, and to hinder ſuch practices for the future, he with great earneſtneſs followed that matter: And tho it had almoſt coſt him his life (it is like from ſome of the Duke of *Orleance* his Faction, who were reſolved on a Revenge) yet at laſt he procured it: But this was only a Condemnation of private Cut-throats. And the Article condemned had a pretty Reſervation in it, for it ſtrikes only againſt Subjects killing their Prince, *without waiting for the Sentence of any Judg whatſoever.* So if a Sentence be paſt by the Spiritual Judg, then this Condemnation notwithſtanding, a Prince may be Murthered. And the other Decree of that Council paſſed in the ſame Seſſion, ſhew they had no mind to part with the Depoſing Power. Beſides the Anſwer to this Decree is clear. It is acknowledged by the Defenders of the contrary opinion, That it is not lawful in any caſe to kill a King; but when one that was a King is no more ſuch, but becomes a Rebel and an Uſurper, then it is lawful to kill him.

Seſſ. 15.

Con. Sien. Tom. 29.

Purſuant to the Decree made at *Conſtance*, a Council met at *Siena* ten years after, in which all the former Decrees made againſt Heretick's are confirmed, and the Favourers or *Fautors* of Hereſie are delared liable to all the pains

pains and cenſures of Hereticks, and by conſequence to the chief of them all, *Depoſition*.

After that came the Council of *Baſil*, which ratified the forementioned Decree made at *Conſtance* about General Councils. By which Popes, Emperors, Kings, *&c.* that preſumed to hinder any from coming to the Council, are ſubjected to Excommunication, Interdicts and *other Puniſhments Spiritual and Temporal.* *Con. Baſil. Tom.* 29.

Laſt of all came the Council of *Trent*, and tho matters were at that paſs, that the Council durſt not tread on Princes, as others had formerly done, leſt they ſhould have been thereby provoked to join with the Proteſtants; yet they would not quite lay aſide the pretence of a Depoſing power, but reſolved to couch it ſo into ſome Decree, that it might continue their claim to a Right, which they would not part with, tho they knew not at that time what to make of it. So in the Decree againſt Duels, they declare, *That if any Emperors, Kings,* &c. *did aſſign a field for a Combat, that they did thereby loſe their Right to that place, and the City, Caſtle, or other places about it.* Now it is certain, if by their Decrees a Prince may forfeit any part of his Dominion, he may be alſo diſpoſſeſſed of all the reſt; ſince his Title to his whole Territory being one individual thing, what ſhakes it in any part, ſubjects it entirely to him who has ſuch authority over it. *Conc. Trid. Seſſ.* 25 *c.* 19.

Here we have found 7 General Councils, as they are eſteemed by that Church, all either expreſly aſſerting the Depoſing Power, or ratifying former Decrees that had aſſerted it. And from ſuch a ſucceſſion of Councils, it is reaſonable to conclude, That this Third Character of a Tradition of the Church agrees to it; and if General Councils are fit Conveyors of Traditions, we have as full Evidence as can be deſired, for proving this to be a Church-Tradition.

This laſt Character of a Tradition is what the whole Body

Body of the Church has held in any one Age. Upon which, they ſay, we may calculate that ſuch opinions muſt have come down from the Apoſtles, ſince it ſeems neither credible nor poſſible, that the Belief of the Church could be changed. With this *Arnold* has of late made great noiſe. And as the new Faſhions that come from *France* do pleaſe our young Gallants beſt, ſo ſome of the Writers of Controverſies among us have taken up the ſame plea here. That the whole Church received the Depoſing Doctrine in caſes of Hereſy, may be inferred from what had been ſaid. The Church is made up of Popes, Biſhops, & Prieſts: Of Soveraign Princes, and Subjects of all ranks. That the Popes believed it, none can doubt. So many Definitions of Councils, ſhews us as plainly what the Biſhops and other Prelates believed: the Writing of the Schoolmen and Canoniſts ſhew, what the reſt of the Clergy believed. Thoſe Princes who ſuffered under the Sentences, give at leaſt a tacit conſent to it, ſince they never queſtion it, but ſtudy only to clear themſelves of the imputation of Hereſie. The other Princes who made uſe of the Donations of the Popes, ſhew as plainly that they believ'd it. The great Armies that were brought about their Standards, muſt have alſo believed it: and the people who generally deſerted the Depoſed Prince, notwithſtanding the great vertues of ſome of them, and the love that Subjects naturally carry to their Princes, ſhew that they believed it. So that if St. *James* his Queſtion, *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works*, be applied to this particular, the Anſwer will be eaſie. What ſhall I mention the frequent depoſitions of *Charles* the 1ſt, of *Henry* the 4th, of his Son *Henry* the 5th, of *Frederick* the 1ſt, *Philip*, *Otho* the 4th, *Frederick* the 2d, and *Lewis* the 4th in the Empire. The frequent Depoſitions in *Sicily* and *Naples*; the many attempts upon *France*; that terrible Bull in particular of *Julius* the 2d, againſt that good King *Lewis* the twelfth.

By

By which, beſides the Sentence againſt the King, it appears he deſigned the total deſtruction of the Nation, promiſing the Pardon of Sin to every one that killed one *French* Man; the frequent Attempts upon *England*, both in *Hen.* the 2d, and K. *John*'s time; not to mention their later Bulls of Depoſition againſt K. *Henry* the 8th, and Q. *Elizabeth*; the many Attempts in *Spain*; particularly, the depoſing the King of *Navarre* by P. *Julius*; and the Sentences againſt *Henry* the 4th, then King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*. All theſe, and a great many more, with the ſtrange Effects that followed upon them, are ſo clear Proofs of the Worlds believing this Doctrine, for many Ages together, that if Men had any Remainders of ſhame left with them, they could not deny it. And to this day all their Writers maintain it, tho perhaps now the greateſt part of the Laity know little of it; but whenever the Tradition of the Church is laid before them, they are obliged to ſubmit, or they fall from the Catholick Faith, the chief Branch of which is, To believe all the Traditions of the Church. And ſince the Church is the ſame in all Ages, according to their Doctrine, the Traditions of any one Age muſt be as good as the Traditions of any other can be, all being grounded on the ſame Authority.

Bud. de Aſſe lib. 5.

And now let all the Reaſons that *Arnold* brings to prove, from the Churches believing Tranſubſtantiation in any Age, that ſhe muſt have always believed it, be conſidered, and applied with a ſmall variation of the Terms to this Purpoſe; and we ſhall ſee if they conclude not as ſtrongly in favour of this Doctrine, as for that which he has purſued ſo much. *How can it be imagined*, ſays he, *that a Doctrine ſo contrary to common Sence and Reaſon, could have been ſo univerſally received, if every Man had not been taught it by thoſe who inſtructed him in the*

Faith? Will Men eaſily change their Faith? Or, tho particular Perſons would prevaricate, would the whole Clergy conſpire to do it? Or would the People take it eaſily off their hands. Theſe and many more Topicks of that ſort may be ſo muſtered up, and ſet off by a Man of Wit and Eloquence, that an ordinary Perſon would ſtare, and not know what to ſay. The Premiſes will ſhew, that there is need but of very little Art to change the ſame Plea, and fit it to this purpoſe, with two great advantages beyond what can be fanci'd to be in the other. The one is, that the generality of Mankind is naturally more concerned in the preſervation of Temporal things, than about nice points of Speculation; the one they ſee and handle every day, and are much concerned about; the other they hear little of, and are not much touched with them. So that it is leſs probable there could be a change made in opinions, on which the Titles of Princes, and the Peace of Kingdoms depended, than about ſubtil Diſcourſes concerning Myſteries. So that the Plea is ſtronger for the Tradition of depoſing Kings, than for Tranſubſtantiation. A ſecond Difference is, That there was a continual Oppoſition made to the belief of Tranſubſtantiation in all Ages, which they themſelves do not deny, only they ſhift it off the beſt they can, by calling the Oppoſers Hereticks; but for the depoſing Doctrine, there was not one Perſon in the whole World, that preſumed to bring it in queſtion, from the firſt time it was pretended to, till thoſe whom they call Hereticks diſputed againſt it; and tho ſome few others, who hold Communion with them, have ventured on a canvaſing of that Doctrine, it is well enough known what thanks they got from *Rome*; nor can they ſhew any one Book, licenſed according to the Rules of their Church, that denies it. And thus the Plea for this Doctrine has a double Advantage

vantage beyond that for Tranſubſtantiation.

Upon the whole matter then, if Tradition be a ſure Conveyance, and if we may pronounce what is truly a Tradition, either from the Opinions of Doctors, the Conſtitutions of Popes, the Decrees of General Councils, and the univerſal Conſent of the whole Church for ſome Ages; then the Doctrine of depoſing Kings, to which all theſe agree, muſt be reckoned among Church-Traditions. There is but one other Mark that can be deviſed of a Tradition, which is, What the Church has taught and believed in all Ages; but for a certain Reaſon, which they know very well, they will not ſtand to that. They know we do not refuſe ſuch Traditions, and if only ſuch may be received, then the Worſhip of Images, the Prayers to Saints, the Worſhip in an unknown Tongue, the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the denying the Chalice to the Laity, the redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, with many other things of the like nature, will be ſoon taken off of the File. And indeed in this ſence, the depoſing Doctrine is ſo far from being a Tradition, that we have as undeniable Evidences, that the Church for the firſt ſix Ages knew nothing of it, but on the contrary abhorred the thoughts of it, as we have, that their Church theſe laſt ſix Ages has ſet it up: From which, among many other Reaſons, we conclude, that theſe latter Ages have not been acted with the ſame Spirit, nor followed the ſame Doctrine, that was the Rule of the former Ages.

There is more than enough ſaid to ſhew, that theſe Doctrines are a part of their Faith; from which they can never extricate themſelves, but by confeſſing, either that their Church has erred, or that Tradition is no true Conveyance; when they do either of theſe, they turn their Backs on *Rome*, and are in a fair away to come over to our

Church, with which purpoſe I pray God inſpire them.

The mean while, it is no wonder, if thoſe of that Communion, have been guilty of ſuch horrid Plots and Rebellions every where, eſpecially in *England*, ſince *Henry* the 8th's time. There was in his Reign, Firſt a Rebellion in *Lincolnſhire*, another greater one in the North, and ſome leſſer ones after that. In *Edward* the 6th's time, there were Riſings, both in the North, and in the Weſt. But theſe ſucceeded ſo ill, and turned only to the ruine of their own Party, that they reſolved to try ſecreter ways in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; in whoſe long and bleſſed Reign, there ſcarce paſſed one year in which there was not ſome Plot againſt her Life. There was not Matter enough to work upon, for raiſing any conſiderable Rebellion in *England*: But in *Ireland*, there were more frequent attempts that way. It is true, the Care and Providence of God was too hard for all their Plots, how cloſely ſoever laid; and they were turned back on themſelves, not ſo much to the ruine of the chief Plotters (who were wiſe enough to conveigh themſelves out of the way) as of many Noble Families, that were poyſoned with their ill Principles. All the Blood which the State was forced to ſhed, lies at their door, who were continually giving freſh Provocations. And for King *James* (not to mention the Conſpiracies againſt him in *Scotland*, nor that Plot of *Cobham* and *Watſon*, upon his firſt coming to this Crown) the Gun-powder Treaſon was a thing that went beyond all the wicked Deſigns that had been ever in any Age contrived. And when his late Majeſty was Embroiled in his Affairs in this Iſland, how did they take advantage from that Conjuncture, to break out into a moſt horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, joyned with a Maſſacre of Perſons of whatſoever Age, or Sex, or Condition? Which was ſo far ſet on by *Rome*,

Rome, that a Nuncio came publickly to direct their Councils. I will not dwell on Particulars that are ſufficiently known, but only name theſe things, to ſhew, That no Reign of any of our Princes, ſince the Reformation, has been free from the diſmal effects of theſe Doctrines. And for his Sacred Majeſty who now Reigns, (whom God long preſerve from their Malice) they have felt ſuch ſignal marks of his Royal Clemency, that they can have no colour to complain, except it be, becauſe they cannot bear any Office in the Nation. For what Noiſe ſoever they make, of the ſevere Laws yet in force, both againſt the Clergy and Laity of their Religion, they cannot pretend that ſince his Majeſties happy Reſtauration, any Prieſt has died, or any Family has been ruined for their Religion. But I confeſs, it is enough, according to the Doctrine of their Church, to diſcharge them of their Allegiance, That the King is a favourer of Hereſy; and if upon this Reaſon they will ſtill Plot and Conſpire againſt his Perſon and Government, we have no reaſon to wonder at it, for they act according to their Principles.

Nor have theſe Iſlands been the only Scenes, in which thoſe Principles have produced ſuch diſmal Effects. If we look abroad and reflect on what was done in *France*, we ſhall find, they have had the ſame Operation there. I need not mention that perfidious and cruel Maſſacre, that as *Thuanus* tells us was ſo much extolled in *Rome* and *Spain*: and of which the Pope has a Memorial kept in the Hangings, at the entrance of his Chappel, to this day. The Barricadoes of *Paris*, the deſign of Depoſing *Henry* the 3d, only becauſe he had made Peace with the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*; the whole progreſs of the holy League; their taking Arms againſt that King, when the Duke and Cardinal of *Guiſe* were

were killed by his Orders, and at laſt his being ſtabbed by *Clement*, a *Dominican* Friar, are Inſtances beyond exception. The proſecution of the Rebellion againſt *Henry* the 4th, the attempt made upon his Perſon by *John Chaſtel*, which was more ſucceſsful in *Ravilliack*'s hands, ſhew ſufficiently, That a Princes turning from that, which they call Hereſie, over to their Church, does not ſecure him, unleſs he will extirpate Hereticks. For tho *Henry* the 4th changed his Religion, yet the favour he ſhewed the Proteſtants, in the Edict of *Nantes*, was a thing never to be forgiven. Theſe things were ſet on and encouraged from *Rome*, and pleaded for by their Writers. That the holy League was authorized from *Rome*, that *Sixtus* the 5th, by his Bulls, declared the King of *Navar* incapable of the Succeſſion; that he intended to have Depoſed *Henry* the 3d, and that he rejoyced at his death, and magnified the Fact; preferring it to *Eleazar*'s killing the Elephant, and *Judeth*'s killing *Holloferne*s, and aſcribed it to a ſingular Providence and Diſpoſition of the Almighty; called it a great Miracle, and appeared vain that a Friar had done it, having been one himſelf, (tho no doubt he had liked it better, if *Clement* had been of his own ſute) and would have had himſelf thought a Prophet for foretelling it, (and ſo he might well do perhaps): and in the end concluded, That unfortunate Kings favouring Hereticks, to be the unpardonable Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt: Theſe were all ſo publickly done, that it were a needleſs labour, to go about the proving them. *Francis Veronne* wrote a Book, to juſtify both the Facts of *Clement* the Dominican, and *Chaſtel*, (as well he might from the Principles of their Church). After all theſe diſmal Facts, was it not time for the States of *France*, to think of ſome effectual Remedy, to prevent the like for the future? And they judged aright, that without

without Condemning the Depoſing Power, it could not be done: To which, as was already hinted, the Clergy made ſuch vigorous Oppoſition, that it came to nothing.

Diſcuſſ. Decret. Con. Lateran. p. 46.

If theſe things had flowed only from the heat of ſome violent Spirits, the danger were not ſo great; but it is the Doctrine of their Church, ſo *Leſſius* (under the name of *Singletonus*) ſays, *That if the power of Depoſing lies not in the Pope, the Church muſt of neceſſity Err, which has taught it*; and to aſſert that, *is Heretical, and a more intollerable Error, than any about the Sacrament can be.* And *Becanus*, Confeſſor to *Ferdinand* the 2d, ſays, *No Man doubts, but if Princes are Contumacious, the Pope may order their Lives to be taken away.* What ſecurity then can there be found out from Perſons, who give up their Conſciences to the conduct of Men of ſuch Principles; and profeſs an Implicite Obedience and belief of all that their Church teaches and commands, which poſſeſſes all its Votaries with ſuch curſed rage againſt Hereticks, that not content to adjudg them to eternal Flames in another Life, they muſt needs Perſecute and Burn without Mercy where they have the Power in their Hands; and Plot and Conſpire, Kill and Maſſacre without relenting, where they have not Power to do it with any colour of Law?

Bec. *Controv. Angl.* p. 115.

Men of Honour will not be eaſily drawn in to ſuch Practices. But in Concluſion, when a fit Opportunity appears, they muſt either forſake their Church, or concur in the moſt miſchievous Deſigns, that the Maſters of their Conſciences will draw them into; which I pray God make them ſee in good time, before they are Involved in ſuch Snares, that Repentance will come too late to do them good, or to preſerve the Nation from thoſe Miſeries that they will bring upon it.

FINIS.

THE Unreasonableness AND IMPIETY OF POPERY: IN A SECOND LETTER Written upon the Discovery of the Late PLOT.

Imprimatur *C. Alston, Nov.* 12. 1678.

LONDON,

Printed for *R. Chiswell*, at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's Church-yard*, 1678.

The Unreaſonableneſs and Impiety OF POPERY,

In a Second Letter written upon the Diſcovery of the Late PLOT.

SIR,

YOu are pleaſed to tell me that my laſt Letter has had ſome good effect; and that many who were before carried away with the falſe colours of the *Romiſh* Religion, are now a little awakned, and ſeem not unwilling to examin things, which they took formerly upon truſt: and therefore you deſire me, ſince you are not Maſter of ſo much ſpare time your ſelf, to ſet down the moſt material and convincing reaſons, and in as few words as may be, that are moſt likely to open the eyes of honeſt and ſimple perſons, that have been hitherto miſled, and are now willing to be inſtructed.

In all ſuch caſes I firſt conſider the temper of the perſons to be dealt with: Such as take up their Religion out of intereſt or humour, and think it point of honour to continue in it, and ſo will examine nothing are not to be ſpoken to. Others that are naturally ſuperſtitious and credulous, are very hard to be wrought on; for they believe every thing that is ſaid on the one hand, and diſtruſt all that is told them by any body elſe. Some of thoſe have a vanity in coming to talk with Divines, but it is an endleſs labour to deal with them; for at every

time one muſt begin of new. But the only perſons to be dealt with, are thoſe that are ſincere and inquiſitive, that having been bred in that Religion, or brought over to it by ſome ſpecious pretences, are now willing to hear reaſon, and reſolved to follow it wherever they find it. And therefore in the firſt place, their minds muſt be diſingaged from theſe unjuſt prejudices, that they conceive of our Religion: and ſuch juſt prejudices muſt be offered them againſt the *Romiſh* Religion, as may at leaſt beget in them ſome jealouſies concerning it, by which they may be brought ſo far, as to think the matter ſuſpicious. If then there be ſuch reaſons offered them, for ſuſpecting foul dealing from their Prieſts and Church, as would make them ſuſpect an Attorney, Phyſician, or any other perſon with whom they were to deal, they will be prepared to hear reaſon; which is all that we deſire: and upon this Head theſe following Conſiderations may be laid before them.

1. All people that pretend to great Power and Dominion over our conſciences, are juſtly to be ſuſpected. If any man deſigned to make himſelf Maſter of any of our other Liberties, we would examine his Title, and ſuſpect all his other motions, when we ſee they tend to ſubject us to him: Therefore a Church that deſigns to keep all her Votaries under an abſolute obedience, is juſtly to be ſuſpected: and our Church that pretends to no ſuch power, is more likely to deal fairly.

2. A Church that deſigns to keep her Members in ignorance, is more to be ſuſpected, than a Church that brings every thing to a fair Trial. A Church that denies the uſe of the Scriptures in a known tongue, except to a few, and wraps up their Worſhip in a Language that is not underſtood, is reaſonably to be ſuſpected, more than a Church that gives the free uſe of the Scriptures to all

all perſons, and worſhips God in a Language, which the people underſtand.

3. A Church whoſe Opinions tend to engroſs the Riches of the world to its Officers, is more to be ſuſpected, than a Church that pretends to nothing but a competent maintenance of the ſeveral Officers in it. The Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, and the Enriching the Shrines, or Reliques of Saints, Pardons, Jubilees, and many more Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, are ſo calculated for enriching their Societies; that every cautious man muſt needs ſuſpect ſome deſign in it: which he cannot charge on a Church that has none of theſe Arts to get money.

4. A Church that has carried on its Deſigns, by the moſt diſhoneſt methods poſſible, the forging of Writings, and Deeds, of Miracles, Viſions, Propheſies and other things of that Nature, is more juſtly to be ſuſpected, than a Church that cannot be charged with any ſuch practices. The Forging ſo many Epiſtles for the Popes of the firſt Ages, which are now by themſelves confeſt to be Spurious, with many other Forgeries, were the Engines by which the Papal Power was chiefly advanced. The Legends and Extravagant Fables of which they are now aſhamed, were the chief Motives of Devotion for many Ages. And by theſe, Saints and Images were ſo much magnified, and Monaſteries ſo enriched. A Noted Liar after a Diſcovery is no more to be truſted.

5. Any that conſiders the preſent State of *Rome*, the manner of Electing Popes, the Practices of that Court, and the Maximes they move by, muſt ſee that every thing there is ſecular, corrupt, and at beſt directed by rules of Policy. But to fanſie the Holy Ghoſt can come upon any Election ſo managed, as their own Books ſhew

that

that is, is the moſt unreaſonable thing that can be deviſed. Therefore a Church that neither pretends ſo high, nor can be charged with ſuch proceedings, is more likely to be the true Church.

6. A Church that teaches Cruelty againſt poor Innocent people, that differ in opinion; and ſets on Plots, Conſpiracies, and Rebellion againſt Princes, that are judged Hereticks, is more likely to be corrupted, than a Church that is ſo merciful, as to condemn all capital proceedings for difference of Opinion, and teaches an abſolute Submiſſion to the Soveraign Power, even when it perſecutes and oppreſſes them.

7. A Church that is falſe to her own Principles, is not ſo likely to Inſtruct her members aright, as a Church that is in all things conſiſtent to her ſelf. The great Foundation of their Doctrine, is, That there muſt be a ſpeaking Judg to decide all Controverſies: Now they have no ſuch Judg, for it is not of Faith, that the Pope is this Judg, or is Infallible: And for a general Council, they have had none theſe 112. years, nor are they like to ſee another in haſt. So they have no Speaking Infallible Judg among them. And thus they deceive people by a falſe Pretence: whereas we appeal to nothing, but what we really have among us, which are the Scriptures.

8. A Church that appeals to Marks, which are not poſſible to be ſearcht out, is more likely to miſlead people, than a Church that pretends to nothing but what can be certainly proved. The great thing they appeal to is the Conſtant Succeſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and their other Paſtors. This cannot be known, no not by a probable conjecture. But there are on the contrary, as great grounds for Hiſtory to deny it in the See of *Rome*, as in any other Ancient See whatſoever: but though

though they have it, both the *Greek* Church, and our Church has it likewiſe.

Theſe are ſuch plain things, and the Truth of them is ſo notoriouſly known, that I ſhould ask any of that Communion, whether upon the like reaſons he would not be Jealous of any perſon or ſort of perſons whatſoever? And if theſe grounds of jealouſie would work in other matters, it is much more reaſonable, that they ſhould take place in matters of Religion; In which as an Error is of far greater Importance; So Impoſtors in all Ages have ſtudied to make gain by Religion. Therefore it is moſt juſt upon theſe violent preſumptions, to look about us, and take care we be not cheated.

But before I would deſcend to particulars, there is one General prejudice that works moſt univerſally, on weaker minds to be removed, which is, that the true Church cannot Erre. If then it be made appear unanſwerably, that the true Church may Erre, and that in a moſt weighty Point, all theſe Arguments fall to the ground.

That the Church of the *Jews*, in our Saviours days was the true Church, cannot be denied; for our Saviour owned it to be ſuch. He joyned with them in their worſhip, He ſent the Lepers to the Prieſt, He commanded them to hear the Doctors that ſate in *Moſes Chair*, and himſelf acknowledged the High Prieſt. This is ſufficient to prove that it was the true Church, and yet this Church erred, in a moſt Important point, whether Jeſus Chriſt was the true Meſſias, in whom the Prophecies were fulfilled or not? they Judged falſly: The High Prieſts with all the *Sanhedrim*, declared him a Blaſphemer, and condemned him guilty of Death. Here the true Church expounds the Scriptures falſly, and erred in the Foundation of Religion.

And

And it is well known, that the chief arguments which they of the Romiſh party bring to prove, that a Church cannot Err, do agree as well to the *Jewiſh*, as the Chriſtian Church: the one being the true Church, under that diſpenſation, as well as the other is now. If then this Deciſion made by the true Church in Chriſts time, did not oblige all in that Church, to go on in that error, but private perſons might have examined their Sentence, and depart from them upon it; then upon the ſame reaſons, though we acknowledge the Church of *Rome* a true Church, yet we may examine her Doctrines, and ſeparate from her errors. This grand prejudice being thus removed, there are two things in the next place to be laid before them.

One is, that the Scriptures, being acknowledged to come from Divine Inſpiration, on all hands, can only decide the Controverſies among us: and the places I ſhall make uſe of, ſhall be cited according to the *Doway* Tranſlation, to which, being made by themſelves, they cannot except.

Another is, that a man muſt judg of things as they appear plainly to his reaſonable Faculties. It is againſt all reaſon to ſay that becauſe it is poſſible for a man to be miſtaken, therefore he ought to doubt his Judgment in things that are clear to him. This muſt turn a man Sceptical both to all Religions, and all the concerns of human life: Therefore every man muſt follow his Judgment, when after a diligent Inquiry, any thing appears plain to him.

And now to come up cloſe to thoſe of that perſwaſion, they are to conſider, that the chief parts of Religion are, *Firſt*, Articles of Faith: *Secondly*, Rules of Life: *Thirdly*, The worſhip of God chiefly in the Sacraments: And *Fourthly*, The Government of the Church. If then

then in every one of these Heads, the Church of *England* agrees clearly with the Scriptures, and the Church of *Rome* does either manifestly contradict them, or differs matterially from them, in all these points, in which we and they differ; then the Resolution of the Question, Whether a man ought to joyn himself to our Church, or theirs? will be easily made.

For Articles of Faith, if either the Apostles Creed or the Creeds of the First 4. General Councils, contain a just abstract of the Faith; then we who receive every Article in these Creeds, do agree more exactly to the Apostolical Doctrine, than they who have added many new Articles to their Creed.

The chief Article of Faith, is, The Covenant made between God and Man through *Jesus Christ*, by which upon the Account of his Merits and Intercession, all who follow the Rules of the Gospel, may expect the Blessings of it, both here, and hereafter. *Pennance toward God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ*, being the conditions upon which we hope for Eternal life. This we plainly teach, without Addition or Change: But in how many things have they departed from this Simplicity of the Gospel? *First*, In teaching People to address to God, for the Merits and by the Intercession of the Saints: From whom these things are asked, for which the Scriptures direct us only to God and Christ. And in the very words pronounced after absolution, *The Merits of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints*, are joined with the passion of Christ; as the grounds on which we obtain pardon of Sin, Grace, and Eternal life. *Secondly*, In perswading People, That a Simple attrition with the use of the Sacraments, without any real conversion of the Soul or change of life, is sufficient to Salvation. *Thirdly*, In perswading People, That

Acts 20. 21.

there is a Communication of the Merits of Saints to other Perſons, though the Scriptures mention only the Communication of Chriſts Merits. *Fourthly*, by Teaching that tho our ſins are pardoned thorough Chriſt; yet, there are terrible and long lasting torments to be endured in another State. *Fifthly*, that ſaying Maſſes, and going of Pilgrimages can Redeem from theſe. Now in all theſe, the two chief Deſigns of the Goſpel are plainly contradicted: Which be; *Firſt*, To Change our hearts and lives: *Secondly*, To perſwade us to a humble Dependance upon Chriſt, and an high acknowledgment of him: But theſe Doctrines of theirs as they ſhew us a way to be ſure of Heaven, without a real Converſion; ſo they take off ſo much from Faith in Chriſt as they carry us to truſt to ſomewhat elſe.

Theſe are Errors of great Importance: Since they corrupt the Fountain, and overthrow the chief deſign of the Chriſtian Religion. They are alſo late devices brought in, in the dark and ignorant Ages.

No mention is made of praying to Saints, in any Ancient Liturgie. There is a great deal againſt it in the moſt Ancient Authors. And though in the Fourth Century, upon the Converſion of many Heathens to the Chriſtian Faith, to humour them in their conceit, of ſome Intermedial Agents, between the Divinity and us Mortals, there was a Reverence for the Saints ſet up, to drive out the worſhip of thoſe Secondary Deities; yet, this was no direct Adoration, though they then began to uſe Rhetorical addreſſes to Saints like prayers: Yet, even in *Gregory* the Great his time (in the beginning of the Seventh Century) we find no Prayers made to them in all his Liturgies. And for the Belief of a ſimple Attrition being ſufficient with the Sacrament, no body ever dreamed of it, before the Schoolmen found out

out the Distinction, between *Attrition* and *Contrition* in the later Ages. For the Communication of the Merits of Saints, the whole Fathers in one voice, speak only of the Merits of Christ being Communicate to us. The Fryers first invented it, to invite People at least to die in their habits, by perswading them, that all the merits of the Saints of their Order, were shared among the whole Order. And for Redeeming out of Purgatory, the first Four Ages knew nothing of it. In the beginning of the Fifth Century St. *Austin* plainly speaks of it as an Opinion *which some had taken up without any ground, and that it was no way certain, nor could we ever be sure of it.* And though in *Gregory* the Great's time, the Belief of it was pretty far advanced; yet, the Trade of Redeeming out of it, by saying Masses for Departed Souls was not even then found out.

So that all these are both gross Errors, and late Inventions.

The next Branch of Religion, is the Rule of human life: which one would think could be taken from no other Standard so certainly, as the 10. Commandments: and the Expositions given of these in Scripture, chiefly our Saviours Sermon on the Mount. Let Malice it self appear, to Declare wherein our Church strikes at any of these: or Teaches men to disobey even the least of them. If then our Rule of life be exactly the same; with that which the Scriptures prescribe, we are safe as to this, which may be well called, The most important piece of Religion. For it is to be considered that God making man *after his own Image*, the end of his Creation was, that he might be made like God. The Attributes of God to be Imitated, are Goodness, Mercy, Justice, Wisdom and Truth. And it is certain that the Design of

Revealed Religion was to give men clearer Notions of these Moral perfections, to press them by stronger Arguments, and encourage our Endeavours by suitable Rewards and punishments. So that if any Religion contradict these Moral Duties, we are sure it is false; for the Revelation of God's will must be designed to make us better than we would otherwise be, following barely the Light of Nature, and not worse. If then the Church of *Rome* over-throws Morality, and contradicts any of the Ten Commandments we are sure it is not of God. And how far it has done this, they may judge by these Particulars.

First, Whatever Church offers cheap and easie pardons for sin, does take off so much from our sense of the evil of sin. We cannot have a very ill opinion of any thing that is easily forgiven. Now what are the Popes Pardons, Indulgences, Jubilees, Priviledged Altars, the going of Pilgrimages, the saying of some Collects, the wearing of *Agnus Dei*'s, Peebles, or other such like trash, but so many Engines to root out of mens minds any deep horrour or great sense of sin. Is not this the very thing which the People of the *Jews* of old offered at, to bring Thousands of Rams, Ten Thousand Rivers of Oyl, their First born, or the fruit of their Body, to offer for their sins? All which were rejected in the name of God in these words, *I will shew thee O man what is good, and what our Lord requireth of thee: Verily to do Judgment, and to love mercy, and to walk solicitous with thy God.* This is a Moral matter and unchangable; therefore whoever go to beat down the sense of sin, by the offer of Pardon, on any other terms, but the sincere change of a mans life, destroy Morallity, which is the Image of God in man. If from this general Consideration we descend to Examine the Commandments in particular, we shall find

Micha 6. 8.

find matter enough for a ſevere Charge againſt their Church.

Is not the Firſt Commandment broken when Devotions are offered to Saints which Import their being *Omniſcient; Omnipreſent and Almighty*; that are the Incommunicable Attributes of the God-head: and when pardon of ſin, preſervation, Grace againſt Temptations, and Eternal life, are immediately begged from Saints. It is true, they ſay the ſence of theſe prayers, is only that we deſire their aſſiſtance at Gods hands for theſe bleſſings. But the words of their Offices import no ſuch matter. And though for above One Hundred and Sixty Years theſe things have been complained of; and in the Correction of their Offices, ſome of them were caſt out; yet, many of them do ſtill continue: In which the plain ſence of the words of their Offices is Idolatrous: Only they make a ſhift with another and forced ſence put on them, to defend themſelves from that charge. And for ſuch Devotions they can ſhew no Warrant for the firſt Thouſand years after Chriſt.

The *Second* Commandment is ſo openly and confeſſedly broken by them, that many of them maintain, it does not all oblige Chriſtians: but belonged only to the Jewiſh Diſpenſation. And in all their Catechiſms it is left out, which was done very wiſely; (with what honeſty let them anſwer) for it was not fit the people ſhould look on that as a Commandment, which they ſaw ſo notoriouſly broken throughout their whole Church: A great trade being alſo driven by the breach of it. That this was not in the Primitive Church, themſelves confeſs: all the Books the Fathers wrote againſt the Idolatry of the Heathens, demonſtrate this. Nor were Images ſo much as ſet up in Churches before the Sixth Century. And then care was taken that they ſhould

ſhould not be worſhipped : and not before the Eighth Century were they worſhipped in any place of the Chriſtian Church.

The Doctrine of the Popes power of Relaxing of Oaths, and diſcharging men from the Obligation of them, joyned with the practice of their Popes for above 800 years, is as formal an Oppoſition to the *Third* Commandment as can be Imagined. This was alſo begun in the *Eighth* Century.

The vaſt multiplication of Holy-days, made the Obſervation of the Lords day of neceſſity ſlacken.

They have deſtroyed the Order of Societies, eſtabliſhed in the *Fifth* Commandment ; by the Power they allow the Pope to Depoſe Princes, and abſolve Subjects from their Alleageance.

They teach the murdering and burning all Hereticks, that is to ſay, all that will not ſubmit to their Tyranny : by which Infinite numbers of Innocent perſons have been murdered, againſt the *Sixth* Commandment. And theſe two Doctrines of depoſing Princes, and putting Hereticks to death, were abhorred by the Church for the firſt *Eight* ages, and were brought in by the Popes ſince that time.

The frequent practice of the Court of *Rome*, in granting Divorces, on the pretence either of Spiritual kindred, or of Degrees not forbidden, either by the Law of Nature, or the word of God, and allowing ſecond Marriages to both Parties, upon ſuch Divorces, is an avowed breach of the *Seventh* Commandment.

The ſetting on, ſome Princes to Invade other Princes in their juſt Rights, is the Doctrine, as well as it has been the practice of their Church for ſome Ages. And as their Popes have wreſted many Territories from Temporal Princes, ſo for many Ages they ſet on Publick

lick Robbery againſt the *Eighth* Commandment.

The Doctrine of Equivocating, both taught, and practiſed, the breaking of ſafe Conducts, and publick Faith decreed by their General Councils, is alſo againſt the *Ninth* Commandment.

For the *Tenth* I ſhall ſay nothing of it, becauſe the meaning of it is not ſo generally agreed on. But thus we ſee all the Rules of Morality are contradicted by that Church.

It might be juſtly added to ſwell up this Charge; that of late there have been Doctrines publiſhed to the world by the approved Caſuiſts of that Church, with Licence, which ſubvert all Juſtice, deſtroy all ſecurity, and take away the moſt ſacred ties of mankind. By the Doctrines of Probability, and of Ordering the Intention aright, there is no crime how black ſoever, but a man may adventure on it with a good conſcience. Theſe things were long and openly taught amongſt them, without any Cenſure. And when many of the *French* Clergy complained of theſe at the Court of *Rome* (perhaps more out of ſpite to the Jeſuits, than zeal for the Truth) it was long before theſe ſo juſt Remonſtrances, were heard. And in concluſion a trifling Cenſure was paſt on them: by which they were declared *Scandalous* (neither Impious, nor Wicked) and all were forbidden to teach them any more, but they ſtand yet, in the Books formerly publiſhed with Licence.

After all theſe particulars, is it to be wondered at, if the morals of the men of that Church be vitiated, when their Doctrine is ſo corrupted, for peoples practices are generally worſe than their Opinions. And thus the *Second* point is made good, that in our Church, we teach the ſame Rules of Living that are in the Scriptures, which are groſly corrupted by their Doctrines.

The

The *Third* Branch of the Chriſtian Religion is the Worſhip of God and that chiefly the uſe of the Sacraments. For the Worſhip of God, let it be conſidered that we pray to God, and praiſe him only, for all theſe things about which the Scriptures command us to addreſs to him. Our worſhip is in a Language that all the people underſtand, and ſo are edified by it according to St. *Paul*, who has enlarged ſo much on this matter, in a whole Chapter, that it is ſtrange, how any who acknowledg the Authority of that Epiſtle, can deny it. Our Liturgies are ſuch, that the Romaniſts cannot except to any part of them: Our ceremonies are few, and theſe be both decent and uſeful: So that in all the parts of our Worſhip, we do ſo exactly agree to the Rule of the Scriptures, and the Primitive Church, that they cannot blame us for any one Rubrick or Collect in it. But for their worſhip, It is in a Language not underſtood by the people: who to be ſure can receive no Edification, from that they underſtand not; nor can they ſay *Amen* to ſuch Devotions. This is as it were in ſpite to St. *Paul*, who took ſpecial care that as long as his Authority was in any eſteem in the Church, ſuch an abuſe ſhould never creep into it. Nor is there a ſhadow of Authority for ſuch a practice, from the Primitive Church, in which for many Ages, the Worſhip was ſtill in the vulgar Tongues.

1 Cor. 14.

Next their Worſhip is ſo overcharged with many Rites and Ceremonies, that the ſerioufneſs of Devotion muſt needs be much alloyed by them. A great part of the Worſhip is ſo whiſpered, as if they were muttering Spells. Their Books of Exorciſms are the moſt indecent things that can be: full of Charms and other ridiculous Rites. And for the *Pontifical* and *Ceremonial* of their Church, they may match with Heatheniſm for Superſtition.

tion. Their Offices are ſo various, and numerous, and the Rubricks ſeem ſo full of diſorder, that a man may as ſoon learn a Trade, as know all the ſeveral parts of them. How this can be reconciled to the Simplicity of the Goſpel, or the Worſhipping God in ſpirit and truth, may be eaſily judged by thoſe who can compare things.

For the Sacraments, we have the Two that Chriſt Inſtituted, Baptiſm, and the Lords Supper; And for Pennance, Confirmation, Ordination and Marriage, we have them alſo among us, as they were appointed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles: though we do not call theſe Sacraments. For Extream Unction we find no warrant at all for it, as a ſacred Ordinance: and we are ſure the Church for many Ages did not think of it. For Baptiſm it is done among us, in the very Form our Saviour appointed: and this they do not deny. But among them they cannot be aſſured that they are at all Baptized: ſince according to the Doctrine of the neceſſity of the Intention of the Prieſt, to the Being of a Sacrament, they cannot be aſſured of it: for an Atheiſtical Prieſt can ſpoil their Baptiſm, ſo that unleſs they can be certain of that, which is impoſſible for them to know, I mean the Intention of the Prieſt, they are not ſure that they were ever truly Baptized. Matt. 28. 19.

But for the Lords Supper, if any perſon will ſo far truſt his own Reaſon and ſenſes, as to compare all the Warrants we have in Scripture for that Ordinance, with the Practice of our Church and theirs, they will ſoon ſee who agree moſt to them. *Chriſt took Bread which he bleſſed and gave, ſaying, This is my Body which is given for you. He alſo took the Chalice and ſaid, Drink ye all of it*, &c. All this we doe, and no more, ſo that it is indeed a *Communion* among us: and thoſe who have read the account that *Juſtin Martyr* gives us of the Rites in the Communion in his days, would think he were Matt. 26. 26, 27. 28. ver.

reading the very Abſtract of our Office. But in the Church of *Rome*, beſides the leſs material things, of the Form of the Bread, the Conſecration of Altars and Veſſels, with the numberleſs little devices in the Canon of the Maſs, that they ſeem not of ſuch importance let theſe conſiderable changes they have made be looked into.

1. They have brought in the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, againſt the cleareſt Evidence both of ſenſe and reaſon, againſt the nature of a Sacrament, and its being a Memorial of Chriſts Death, and that by the very words of Conſecration, the Bread and Wine are Chriſts *Body and Blood*, as the one was *given for us*, and the other *ſhed for us*, on the Croſs: and not as he is now at the Right hand of God. The belief of this crept in by degrees, from the eighth Century, in which it was firſt ſet on foot, but much contradicted both in the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Church: and was not fully ſetled till the 13th Century. We are ſure it was not the Doctrine of the Churches of *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Aſia*, *Antioch*, nor *Africk* in the 5th and 6th Centuries, by expreſs Teſtimonies from the moſt eſteemed Authors of that time, *Gelaſius*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Ephrem*, *Theodoret*, and St. *Auſtin*.

2. They deny the Chalice to the Laity againſt the expreſs words of the Inſtitution; and contrary both to the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church for 1300 years.

3. They have declared the Prieſts ſaying Maſs, to be an Expiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, and the Living, though the Scripture plainly ſays, *That Chriſt was once offered for us.* It is true the Primitive Church uſed the words *Sacrifice* and *Oblation* as our Church yet does, but their meaning by that, was only in the general ſenſe of theſe terms, as Prayers, Praiſes, and Alms are called Sacrifices.

Heb. 9. 26, 28.

4. They

4. They have brought in a new piece of Worſhip, which is the hearing of Maſs, without receiving the Sacrament: and it is now the great Devotion of their Church. Though by the Inſtitution, it is as expreſs as can be, that the Conſecration is only in order to its being a Communion. And by the Apoſtolical Canons, which ſome in their Church believe to be the work of the Apoſtles, and are by them all acknowledged to be a Collection of the Rites of the firſt Ages, all perſons that were preſent at the Worſhip, and did not communicate were to be ſeverely cenſured.

5. The adoring the Sacrament, the expoſing it on the Altar, and carrying it about in ſolemn Proceſſions, to be worſhipped, as they are late Inventions; ſo if Tranſubſtantiation be not true, they are by their own confeſſion the groſſeſt Idolatries that ever were,

And are not theſe conſiderable variations from the firſt Inſtitution of this Sacrament?

As for their own Sacraments, though there is no reaſon to equal them, to either of theſe that were inſtituted by Chriſt; yet ſome of them we uſe, as they were at firſt appointed. Perſons Baptized, are Confirmed with Impoſition of hands, the only Ceremony uſed by the Apoſtles. Acts 8. 17.

We allow the uſe of Confeſſion, and do preſs it in many caſes; and give the benefit of Abſolution: but we do not make this an Engin to ſcrew peoples ſecrets from them. For which there is no warrant in Scripture; nor was it thought neceſſary for many Ages after the Apoſtles. Confeſſion of publick Scandals was enjoyned, and for private ſins it was recommended: but this latter was not judged ſimply neceſſary for obtaining the pardon of ſin. And what noiſe ſoever they make of the good that Confeſſion, and the enjoyning of Pennance, may do,

if well managed, we need only appeal to ſome of their own beſt Writers, now in *France*, whether as they have been practiſed, they have not rather driven all true Piety out of the world. If theſe abuſes had been only the faults of ſome Prieſts, the blame could not have been juſtly caſt on their Church; but when the publick Rules given to Confeſſors, printed with Licence, are their warrants for ſo doing, then their Church is in fault. So that nothing is more common among them, than for perſons after a confeſſion made of their ſins, with a ſlight ſorrow, and ſome trifling pennance undergone, together with the Prieſtly Abſolution, to fancy themſelves as clean from all ſin, as if they had never offended God. And this being the Doctrin of their Church, it both leſſens the ſenſe of ſin, and takes men off from making ſuch earneſt applications to God through Chriſt, as the Goſpel commands.

Morinus. For Orders they are among us with the ſame Rites that Chriſt and the Apoſtles gave them firſt: And a learned Man of their own Church has lately publiſhed the moſt ancient Forms of Ordinations he could find: From which it appears, that all the Ceremonies in their Ordinations, for the want of which they accuſe us, were brought in ſince the eighth Century: ſo that even by their own Principles theſe things cannot be neceſſary to Ordination, otherwiſe there were no true Orders in the Church for the firſt eight Ages.

Heb. 13. 4. For Marriage we honour it as Gods Ordinance; and ſince the Scriptures declare it *honourable in all*, without exception, we dare deny it to none who deſire it. St. *Paul* delivers the Duty of Clergy-men towards their
1 Tim. 3. 2. 4. 11. Wives, with Rules for their Wives behaviour, which had been very impertinent if Clergy-men might have no Wives. We find a married Clergy in the firſt ten Centuries:

turies: And we know by what baſe Arts the Cælibate of the Clergy was brought in; and what horrid ill effects it has produced. Neither do we allow of any devices to hinder Marriage, by degrees of kindred not prohibited in the Law of God, or the trade that was long driven in granting Diſpenſations in thoſe degrees, and afterwards annulling theſe, and avoiding the Marriages that followed upon them, upon ſome pretences of Law.

Thus it appears, how they have corrupted the Doctrine of the Sacraments, together with the Worſhip of God.

The laſt head of Religion is *Government*; and as to this, we can challenge any to ſee what they can except to us. Firſt in reference to the Civil Power, we declare all are bound for conſcience ſake to obey every lawful Command of the Supream Authority, and to ſubmit when they cannot obey. We pretend to no Exemption of Clarks from the Civil Juriſdiction, but *give to Cæſar the things that are Cæſars*. We do not obey the King only becauſe he is of our Religion: much leſs do we allow of Conſpiracies or Rebellions upon our judging him an Heretick, ſo that we deliver no Doctrin that can be of any ill conſequence to the Society we live in.

And for the Eccleſiaſtical Government we have Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, rightly Ordained, and in their due ſubordination to one another; every one adminiſtring theſe Offices due to his Function, which has been the Government of the Chriſtian Church, ſince the times of the Apoſtles. So that we have a clear vocation of Paſtors among us, from whoſe hands every perſon may without ſcruple receive all the Sacraments of the Church.

But for the Church of *Rome*, how unſafe is the Civil Government among them? not to mention the Doctrin

of

of depoſing Princes, for which I refer you to my former Letter; What a ſecurity does the Exemption of Clerks from the Civil Courts in caſes criminal, give to looſe and debauched Church-men; and what diſturbance muſt this breed to a Common-wealth? The denying the Civil Magiſtrate power to make Laws that concern Religion, or oblige Churchmen, takes away a great deal of his Rights; for ſcarce any Law can be made but wrangling and ill-natur'd Churchmen, may draw it within ſome head of Religion. And that this was frequently done in former Ages, all that have read Hiſtory know. The quarrels that were in the beginning of this Century between the Pope and the Republick of *Venice* were a freſh Evidence of it.

But for the Eccleſiaſtical Government, they have ſpoiled it in all the parts of it. The Pope has aſſumed a power of ſo vaſt an extent, and ſo arbitrary a nature, that all the ancient Canons are thrown out of doors by it. We know that originally the Biſhops of *Rome* were looked on by the reſt of the Church, as their Colleagues and fellow Biſhops. The Dignity of the City made the See more remarkable; and the belief of St. *Peters* having founded it, with his ſuffering Martrydom there, with St. *Paul*, made it much honoured: ſo that when the Empire became Chriſtian, then the Dignity of the Imperial City made the Biſhop of *Rome* be acknowledged the firſt Patriarch. From this beginning they aroſe by many degrees to the height of pretending to a Supremacy both Civil and Spiritual: and then they not only received appeals, which was all they at firſt pretended to, but ſet up Legantine Courts every where, made the Biſhops ſwear Obedience and Homage to them, and the Arch-Biſhops receive the Pall from their hands, in ſign of their dependance on them: Exempted Monaſteries, and

and other Clarks from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, broke all the Laws of the Church by their Diſpenſations: So that no ſhaddow of the primitive Government does now remain. And though *Gregory* the Great wrote with as much indignation againſt the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, as ever any Proteſtant did; yet his Succeſſors, have ſince aſſumed both the Name and thing. And to that height of Inſolence, has this riſen, that in the Council of *Trent*, all the Papal Party oppoſed the Decree that was put in, for declaring Biſhops to have their Juriſdictions by Divine Right. The Court Party not being aſhamed to affirm, that all Juriſdiction was by Divine Right only in the Pope; and in the other Biſhops, as the Delegates of the Apoſtolick See; and they were in this too hard for the other Party. So that now a Biſhop, who by the Divine appointment ought to *feed the Flock*, can do no more in that, then as the Pope gives him leave. The greateſt part of the Prieſts have no dependence on their Biſhops. The *Monks*, *Fryars*, and *Jeſuits*, being immediately ſubordinate to the Pope; ſo that they do what they pleaſe, knowing they can juſtifie any thing at *Rome*, and they fear no Cenſure any where elſe.

From this ſo many abuſes have crept in, and the Canonifts have found out, ſo many devices to make them Legal, that there is no hope of Reforming theſe at *Rome*. The whole State of Cardinals is one great Corruption, who, from being Originally the Pariſh Prieſts of *Rome*, and ſo under all Biſhops, have raiſed themſelves ſo high that they do now trample on the whole Order; and pretend to an Equality with Princes. The giving Benefices to Children, the unlimitted Plurality of Benefices in one Perſon; the Comendam's, the reſerved Penſions, with many other ſuch like, are groſs, as well as late Corruptions. And no wonder if all men deſpair of Reforming

ing the Court of *Rome*, when these abuses are become necessary to it, by which the greatness of the Cardinals and the other Officers, or Ministers there, is kept up.

I need not mention the gross *Simony* of that Court, where all the world knows, every thing may be had for money. The Popes themselves, are often Chosen by these Arts: and if their own Rules be true, such Elections, with every thing that follows on them are void. The Infinite Swarmes of the Inferiour Clergy, do plainly drive a *Simoniacal* Trade, by the Masses they say for Departed Souls, for Money. And for Publick Pennance, they have Universally let it fall, in stead whereof private Pennance is now in use. And if their own Writers say true, this is made an Engine to serve other ends, when by enjoyning slight and easie Pennances, they draw the People after them; upon which the Jesuites have been loudly accused, these Forty Years last past. In Sum, all the Corruptions or rather defects, that are in the Government of our Church, are only such as they brought in and have not met yet with such effectual remedies, as must cure the Church of these inveterate Distempers, their ill Conduct did cast her into.

If any of that Party will review these Particulars, and so far trust their own Reasons, as to judge according to the plainest Evidence, they cannot resist the conviction that they must needs meet with: when they see the simplicity of our Faith, the Morality of our Doctrine, the Purity of our Worship, and our Primitive Government; and compare it with their vast Superfetation of Articles of Faith, the Immorality of their Rules of living, the Superstition, if not Idolatry of their Worship, and the most extravagant Innovations in Government, that are in the Church of *Rome*.

And indeed these things are so clear that few could resist

reſiſt the force of ſo much plain truth, if it were not for ſome prejudices, with which they are ſo fettered that they cannot examine matters with that freedom of mind, that is neceſſary. Therefore much care muſt be taken, to clear theſe, in the moſt familiar and demonſtrative manner that is poſſible.

They may be reduced to theſe Five chief Ones. *Firſt*, That the true Church cannot Err. *Secondly*, That out of the true Church there is no ſalvation. *Thirdly*, That the caſe of the Church of *Rome* is much ſafer than ours is; ſince the Church of *England* acknowledges a poſſibility of ſalvation in the Church of *Rome*; which they on the other hand deny to the Church of *England*. *Fourthly*, That unleſs there be a Supreme Judg ſet up, we can be ſure of nothing in Religion, but muſt fall into many Factions and Parties. And *Fiftly*, That the Reformation was but a Novelty begun in the former Age, and carried on in this Nation, out of an ill deſign; and managed with much Sacriledge.

The Firſt of theſe ſeemed neceſſary to be cleared in the beginning of this Diſcourſe, and I am deceived if it was not done convincingly. And for the ſecond we agree to it, That out of the true Church there is no Salvation.

But then the Queſtion comes, What makes one a Member of the true Church? The Scriptures call the Church the *Body of Chriſt*, of which he is *the Head*. Eph. 1. 22, 23. So then whoever are joined to Chriſt according to the Goſpel, muſt be within the true Church. But the deceit that lies hid under this, is, That from hence they fancy that the Unity of the Church, does conſiſt in an outward Communion with the See of *Rome*. And upon that they calculate, that there muſt be an Unity in the Body of the Church: And that cannot be, except all be joined to the See of *Rome*. Now, we grant there is

but one Church, but this Unity consists not in an Outward Communion, though that is much to be desired, but consists in an Unity of Belief, about the essentials of Christianity.

There is nothing more evident, than, that even according to their own Principles, other Churches are not bound upon the hazard of Damnation to hold Communion with the See of *Rome*; for it is not an Article of Faith, nor certain according to their own Doctrine, That the Pope is Infallible: And except that were certain, we cannot be obliged to hold Communion under such a Sanction with that See. For if it be possible that a Pope may become an Heretick or Schismatick (which many of them confess, and all agree that the contrary is not of Faith,) then other Churches are not in that case obliged to hold Communion with that See. If therefore the possibility of Error in that See be acknowledged, then holding Communion with it, cannot be the measure of the Unity of the Church. So we bring it to this Issue, It is not Heresie to say, The Pope may Err: Therefore this is no just prejudice against our Church, because we have departed from Communion with him, when he imposed his Errors on us. So all the high things they boast of that See, come to nothing, except they say, This Proposition is of Faith, *That the Pope is Infallible*. And for these Meetings that they call General Councils; they were at best but the Councils of the *Western* Patriarchate artificially packt, and managed with much Art; as appears even from Cardinal *Pallavicini*'s History of the Council of *Trent*.

For the Third Prejudice, It is the most disingenuous thing that can be; Because our Church is charitable, and modest in her Censures, and theirs is uncharitable, and cruel in her Judgments; therefore to conclude, That Communion

munion with them is ſafer, than with us. If confidence, and Preſumption, Noiſe, and Arrogance, are the marks to judge a Church by, we muſt yield to them in theſe: but if Truth, and Peace, Charity and holy Doctrines, be the better Standards, then we are as ſure, that our Communion is much ſafer. Let this Rule be applied to the other concerns of human life, and it will appear how ridiculous an abuſe it is to take meaſures from ſo falſe a Standard. If a man were ſick, the Queſtion comes, Whether he ſhall uſe an approved Phyſitian, or a Montebanks. On the one hand, the Montebank ſays, He will certainly cure him, and the Doctors will undoubtedly kill him. On the other hand, the Doctor modeſtly ſays, he will undertake nothing, but will do the beſt he can; and for the Montebank he tells him, It is very dangerous to truſt to him, though he will not deny but ſometimes great cures are done by them. The Inſolence of the Montebank will never carry it againſt a Doctors modeſty, but among weak and credulous People; and ſuch muſt they alſo be, who are taken with this Montebankry in Religion.

But if this be taken to pieces, the folly of it will yet appear more manifeſt. For *Firſt*, the reaſon we give for a poſſibility of Salvation in the Church of *Rome* is, becauſe we look on ſuch and ſuch things as the Eſſentials of Chriſtianity, which are yet retained in that Church: And either this Reaſoning is true or falſe. If it be true, then it is as true, that we may be ſaved, who retain theſe Eſſentials of Chriſtianity: If it is falſe, then no Inference can be drawn from it. *Secondly*, Though we yield a poſſibility of Salvation in that Church, we declare that they are in great danger, by many opinions among them, which if fully underſtood and believed, do even vitiate the Eſſentials of Chriſtianity; parti-

culaly that Foundation of Religion, The Covenant between God and Man thorough Chriſt, formerly inſiſted on. So that we declaring a Certainty of Salvation to thoſe who ſincerely follow the rules of our Church, and a great danger in their Church, the preferring their Communion to ours, upon this account, is, as unreaſonable, as to ſleep without ſhutting our Doors, becauſe it is poſſible we ſhall not be robbed, in ſo doing: Or when we are at Sea to prefer a Cock-boat to a good clean Ship. Theſe are ſuch abſurdities, that an ordinary meaſure of weakneſs cannot ſwallow them down. *Thirdly*, We are not ſo forward as they imagine in yielding a poſſibility of Salvation in their Church. For our conceſſion amounts rather to this, that we do not deny it, than that we poſitively affirm it: And therefore they have no reaſon to draw theſe advantages from it.

4. A great difference is to be made between what God in the Infiniteneſs of his mercy may do, and what he is bound to by the Covenant made with man in the Goſpel; for the former we acknowledg, it is impoſſible to fix the limits of that mercy which is as far above our thoughts, as the Heavens are above the Earth. And how far it extends to all ſincere minds, we are not ſo preſumptuous as to define; therefore we will not Damn at pleaſure, as they do but we do aſſert, Their Church is guilty of ſuch groſs Corruptions, by which the vitals of Religion are vitiated, that they have not that reaſon to claim the Mercies of the Goſpel due by that Covenant.

5. The Church of *Rome* has a dark and fair ſide; the dark ſide is, what the true conſequence of their Opinions is, the fair ſide is, what ſome witty men have deviſed to palliate theſe corruptions with, and to deceive the Vulgar by. We know many of that Communion, either

ther do not at all know theſe corrupt Doctrines, or have ſuch a fair repreſentation made of them, that they are thereby both more eaſily and more innocently miſled. From hence it is that we are inclined to hope more charitably concerning ſome, that are abuſed by them. But for thoſe that have examined things more fully, or that having been bred among us, yet reject the Truth, and go over to them, we are not ſo much enclined to have ſo good hopes of them, as they imagine: So this is a weak and ill grounded conceit in all the parts of it.

The Fourth Prejudice, is concerning the neceſſity of Submitting to ſome Common Judg, of diſtruſting our own reaſons, and believing the Church, without which there muſt be many Sects and Diviſions: and this they aggravate from the many different Parties that are among us.

But theſe are only ſpecious pretences to deceive weak people by. For Firſt, If it is neceſſary that there be a Common Judg, it is moſt neceſſary that it be known, who this Judg is, otherwiſe it is to no purpoſe to talk of a Judge, if they cannot point him out. This is like him that came to diſcover a huge Treaſure that he knew was hid under ground; but being asked in what place it was? he anſwered he did not know that: and he believed no body elſe knew. Some ſay the *Pope* is the Judge, others as confidently, that the Council is Judge even without the Pope, others think it is ſure work to ſay, the Pope and Council together: and others ſay the Body of the Church ſpread over the World.

For the Popes, ſome of them have been condemned for Hereſie, and others for making Schiſm; many of them have been moſt horrid men: they are generally ignorant in Divinity, being for moſt part bred to the

Law.

Law: ſo that a great part of their own Church rejects the Popes Infallibility.

For Councils, they have had none theſe 115 years, and the laſt was ſo over-ruled by the Popes, that no other has been deſired ſince: ſo that if either a Council without the Pope, or with him, be the Infallible Judge they have loſt their infallibility; and except a Council were conſtantly ſitting, they can ſhew no living and ſpeaking Judg. So that either this is not neceſſary to a Church, or otherwiſe they are not a compleat Church. And for the Body of the Church, how ſhall a man find out their ſenſe, unleſs gathered together in ſome Aſſembly? or muſt a Man go over Chriſtendome, and gather the Suffrages of all the Paſtors of the Church? Upon the whole matter it is plain that after all their Canting about the Church, they muſt ſay, that it is of Faith that the Pope is Infallible, otherwiſe they have no Infallible Judg, and ſince a Council cannot be called but by the Pope, what ever Authority the Council has it can never be exerciſed, but by the Popes leave.

And for all the ſad conſequences they ſay, follow the want of a Common infallible Judg, it appears they are under them as well as we; but with this difference, that we plainly acknowledg, we have none, but do the beſt we can without one: But they, as they have none, no more than we, yet are under the Tyranny of one, and though they are not bound to believe him Infallible, yet are as much enſlaved to him, and obliged to obey him, as if he were really exempted from all poſſibility of Erring. So that in ſhort, they are ſlaves and we are freemen. And for theſe ill conſequences, they are, we confeſs, unavoidable; for which we have very good Authority, from his words, who on all ſides is acknowledged to be Infallible

ſallible, that ſaid, *Wo be to the World for ſcandals, for it is neceſſary that ſcandals do come.* Matt 18.7.

But to diſcuſs this Objection, which works much on ignorant people, let it be conſidered that ſin and Error are the two things, that do chiefly croſs the deſign of the Goſpel: and of theſe two, ſin, is the more dangerous and deſtructive: ſince there is great reaſon to hope that Error cannot be ſo fatal, when it infects a mind that is otherwiſe ſincere, as Sin, which clearly defaces the Image of God in the Soul. We ought not therefore to expect that the Goſpel, ſhould give any further ſecurity againſt Error, than it gives againſt Sin: On the contrary we ſhould rather expect a further ſecurity from Sin, becauſe it is moſt hurtful. But all the Proviſion made againſt Sin, is this, that in the Scriptures we are warned of the evil of it, and are directed to ſuch methods, and have the promiſes of ſuch Aſſiſtance, that if we uſe our endeavour, we ſhall not be overcome by ſin, nor periſh in it: So as to Error, we have the ſame ſecurity. The Goſpel affords us a very clear light for directing our Belief in the moſt important things, which if we ſtudy with due humility, and ſincerity, imploring God for the grace of his holy Spirit, for our inſtruction, we ſhall be preſerved from Error. And thus the ſame proviſion is made againſt Error, that is againſt Sin. And we have no reaſon to expect more. And as it were not fit, that Salvation ſhould be offered without obliging men to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, ſo it were not fit to give ſuch an eaſie Remedy againſt Error, as that a man ſhould not need to employ his reaſon to diſcover Truth, and avoid Miſtakes. *If our Goſpel be alſo hid, it is hid in them that periſh.* Therefore that our Searches after Truth, may be both encouraged and rewarded, God ſets it before us 2 Cor. 3.3.

in

in ſuch a Light, that it is our own fault if we do not ſee and follow it. But if men will either blindly give themſelves up, to the conduct of ſuch Guides, whoſe intereſt it is to miſlead them, which is the caſe of the Church of *Rome*; or out of humour, or other baſe ends, will invent or follow ſome erroneous Tenets, as other Hereticks do, they have themſelves to blame; and ſhall bear their own Iniquity: but they have no reaſon to caſt the fault upon God, or accuſe the Scriptures, of Darkneſs, or Defectiveneſs, in theſe things that are neceſſary to Salvation.

I come now to the laſt Prejudice, which will require a fuller Diſcuſſion, becauſe it relates to matter of Fact: which as it is better underſtood, ſo it makes deeper Impreſſions on people, that are not ſo much wrought on by ſpeculative points, as by theſe things that fall under their ſenſes.

They firſt except to the Novelty of our Reformation, and always inſult with this Queſtion, *Where was your Religion before Luther?* To this, theſe things are to be oppoſed. *Firſt*, we turn back the Queſtion, and ask them where was their Religion the firſt ſix hundred years after Chriſt? Where was the Worſhip of Images, the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence, of Redeeming out of Purgatory, of Depoſing Princes, and of the Worſhipping Saints, before the Eighth Century? If the Reformation be now to be condemned, becauſe of its Novelty, theſe things were then to be as much condemned, becauſe they were then Novelties.

Secondly. If the Reformation had brought in any new Doctrine, its Novelty were indeed a juſt Prejudice againſt it: but it was only the throwing out of theſe Corruptions which had been brought in, in ſome dark and Ignorant Ages.

Thirdly,

Thirdly. The Doctrine of the Reformed Church, is no other than what Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught; and what the Church believed for many Ages after them. And as to the Poſitive part of it, it has been ſtill held by the Church of *Rome*, and is yet acknowledged by them: but with ſo many Additions, that there was a Neceſſity of Reforming theſe: And this is often to be inculcated in them, that there is no Article of Faith, nor any other material point of Religion, among us that is condemned by the Church of *Rome*. They only blame us becauſe we do not in many other points believe as they do: and this we ought not to do, unleſs we could ſee an equal Authority binding us to all alike.

Another Exception is, that in the Reformation we made a Schiſm, and broke the Unity of the Church, whereas if there had been any things amiſs in the Church, they ſay the Reformers ſhould have endeavoured to remove them, without tearing the Body of Chriſt in pieces.

But in anſwer to this, we acknowledg if the things complained of, could have been continued without ſin, they ought not to have departed from the Communion of other Churches: but when the publick Liturgies and the Worſhip was found to be full of ſuch Corruptions, that without Idolatry and Superſtition, they could be no longer kept up, then it was not time to ſtay for the leiſure of their Neighbouring Churches.

Yet if there had been any probable hopes, that the See of *Rome*, would have concurred in ſuch a Reformation, it had been worth ſtaying for, as long, as was poſſible. But when it was on the contrary, apparent, that all the moſt juſt Remonſtrances made to that Court, were anſwered at beſt with delays and Excuſes, if not with Excommunications and other cenſures; they had

no reaſon to expect any concurrence from thence. So the caſe being thus put, that they diſcovered ſuch Corruptions in the Worſhip of God, with which they could not comply any longer; either they were obliged to Worſhip God againſt their Conſciences, or to lay aſide all publick Worſhip, or elſe to caſt out theſe Corruptions by a Reformation. Let any man of good reaſon judge, whether the laſt of theſe was not to be choſen?

There was no Obligation lying on this Church to wait for the pleaſure of the Court of *Rome*, or our neighbouring Churches in this matter. We are a free and Independent Church: we owe a charitable and neighbourly Correſpondence to forreign Churches; but we are ſubject to none of them. And according to the expreſs Deciſion of one of the firſt General Councils, in the like caſe, we were no way ſubordinate to the See of *Rome*, even as it was the Patriarchate of the Weſt. Themſelves do confeſs that it is no Hereſie to ſay, That See is fallible: and therefore we were not obliged to dance attendance at that Court, when we diſcovered the Corruptions, with which it had deceived the World; but might in our National or Provincial Synods at home, examine and Reform whatever errors were among us. And the multitude of thoſe who held theſe errors, could be no juſt ground for delaying any advances towards a Reformation; no more than in the ancient Church, the Orthodox Biſhops when choſen into a See corrupted with Arrianiſm, were obliged becauſe that Contagion was generally ſpread, to make no attempts toward Reformation.

They Except further, That the Reformation was begun here by a vitious Prince, King *Henry* the Eighth, who

who partly out of revenge, becauſe the Pope would not grant his deſire about the Divorce of his Queen, and partly to enrich himſelf and his Courtiers with the ſale of Abbey-lands did ſuffer theſe Doctrins firſt to take head here: and therefore they can have no good opinion of any thing that came from ſo wicked a man, and upon ſuch ill motives.

If this be a good Argument againſt the Reformation, it was as good againſt Chriſtianity upon *Conſtantine*'s turning Chriſtian; for the Heathen Writers repreſent him with as black a character as they can do King *Henry*. But we muſt not think ill of every thing that is done by a bad man, and upon an ill Principle: Otherwiſe if we had lived in *Jehu*'s days, the ſame Plea would have been as ſtrong, for keeping up the Idolatry of *Baal*: ſince *Jehu* had in a very unſincere manner deſtroyed it: and yet God rewarded him for what he had done.

But whatever might have been King *Henry*'s ſecret motives, his proceedings were regular and juſtifiable. He found himſelf married to her that had been his own Brothers Wife, contrary to the expreſs words of the Law of God. The Popes Legat, and his own Confeſſor and all the Biſhops of *England* (except one) thought his ſcruples were well grounded. Upon which according to the ſuperſtition of that time, he made his applications to the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce: which were at firſt well received, and a Bull was granted. Afterwards ſome defects being found in that, a more ample one was deſired, which was alſo granted: and Legats were appointed to try the matter. But the Pope ſoon after turned over to the Emperors Party, whoſe Aunt the Queen was: and was thereupon prevailed with, to recal the Legats Commiſſion, deſtroy the Bull, and cite the King

to appear at *Rome*, where all things and persons were at the Emperors devotion. Upon all this, the King did expostulate with the Pope, that either his business was just, or unjust: if it was just why did he recall what he had granted, and put him off with such delays. If it was not just, why did he at first grant the Bull for the Divorce. This was unanswerable, but the Pope did still feed him with false hopes, yet would do nothing. Upon which he consulted the chief Universities, and the most learned men in Christendom, about his Marriage. Twelve famous Universities, and above an hundred learned Doctors, did declare under their hands and Seals (some writing larger Treatises about it) that his Marriage was against the Law of God. And that in that case the Popes Dispensation, which had allowed the Marriage, was void of it self. So after the King had been kept in suspence from *December* 1527 till *February* 153$\frac{3}{4}$. above six years, he set his Divines to examin what authority the Pope had in *England*, either by the Law of God, or the practice of the Primitive Church, or the Law of the Land, and after a long and accurate search, they found He had no authority at all in *England*, neither by the Laws of God, of the Church, nor of the Land: so this Decision was not made rashly, nor of a sudden.

The Popes Authority being thus cast off, it was Natural in the next place to Consider, what Doctrines were then held in *England*, upon no other grounds than Papal Decrees. For it was absurd to reject the Popes power; and yet to retain these Opinions, which had no better Foundation than his Authority. Upon this many of the things, which had been for some Ages received in the Church of *Rome*, fell under debate: And, a great many

many particulars were reformed. Yet, that King was ſo leavened with the Old Superſtition, that the progreſs of the Reformation, was but ſlow during his Reign. But it was carried on to a further perfection, under King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. In all their Methods of proceeding, there is nothing that can be reaſonably cenſured: if it be confeſſed that the Pope is not Infallible, and the whole Church of *Rome*, acknowledges that it is no Hereſie to deny his Infallibility.

And for the Sale of the Abby-lands, they only ſpoiled the ſpoilers. For the *Monks*, and *Fryers*, had put theſe publick cheats on the Nation, of Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, going on Pilgrimages, with the worſhip of Saints, and Images, which were infuſed in the vulgar, by many lying Stories, pretended Apparitions, the falſe ſhew of Miracles, with other ſuch like Arts. And the credulous and ſuperſtitious Multitudes were thereby wrought on, to endow theſe Houſes with their beſt Lands, and adorn their Churches with their Plate and richeſt Furniture. It was not to be expected that when their Impoſtures were diſcovered, they ſhould enjoy the ſpoil they had made by them: nor was it for the publick intereſt of the Nation, to give ſuch encouragement to idleneſs, as the converting all theſe Houſes to Foundations for an unactive life would have been. Many of them were applied to good Uſes, Biſhopricks, Cathedral and Collegiat Churches, Hoſpitals, and free Schools: And more of them ought indeed to have been converted to theſe ends. But the exceſſes of King *Henry*, and his Courtiers muſt not be charged on the Reformers; who did all they could to hinder them.

And

And thus all these prejudices with which the Vulgar are misled, appear to be very unjust, and ill grounded. In conclusion, If by these or such like considerations, any that are now of that Communion, can be brought to mind Religion in earnest, considering it, as a Design to save their Souls, by making them truly pure and holy; and so reconciling them to God through Christ: And if they will examine Matters without Partiality, seeking the truth and resolving to follow it, wherever they find it; and joyn with their Enquiries, earnest Prayers to God, *the Father of lights*, to open their eyes, and grant them his Holy Spirit, to lead them into all truth; there is little doubt to be made, but the great Evidence that is in Truth, will in due time appear so clear to them as to dissipate all these mists, which Education, implicite Faith, and Superstition have raised, by which they have hitherto darkened.

FINIS.

A

RELATION

Of the *Barbarous* and *Bloody*

MASSACRE

Of about an hundred thousand

PROTESTANTS,

BEGUN

At PARIS, and carried on over all FRANCE by the PAPISTS, in the Year 1572.

Collected out of *Mezeray*, *Thuanus*, and other approved Authors.

LONDON, Printed for *Richard Chiswel*, at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1678.

A Relation of the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, *begun in* Paris, *and carried on over all* France, *in the Year* 1572.

THere are no Principles of Morality more univerſally received, and that make deeper impreſſions on the minds of all Men, that are more neceſſary for the good of humane Society, and do more reſemble the Divine Perfections, than Truth and Goodneſs: So that if our Saviour denounced a Woe againſt thoſe who teach Men to break the leaſt of his Commandments, what may they look for, who deſign to ſubvert theſe that may be juſtly called the greateſt of them?

That the Church of *Rome* teaches Barbarity and Cruelty, againſt all who receive not their Opinions; and that Hereticks are to be delivered to ſecular Princes, who muſt burn them without mercy; or if they have either Bowels or Conſcience, ſo that they will not be the Inſtruments of their Cruelty, that they ſhall loſe their Kingdoms or Dominions, is known to all that have read the Decrees of the 4*th* Council in the *Lateran*. The violation of Publick Faith, was alſo decreed by another of their General Councils at *Conſtance*; in which, notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct that *Sigiſmund* had granted to *John Huſſe* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, care was not only taken that they ſhould be burnt; but they made it a ſtanding Rule for the time to come, That tho Hereticks came to the *Can.* 3. *Seſſ.* 19.

place of Judgment, truſting to their ſafe conduct, and would not have come without it; yet the Prince who granted it, was under no Obligation by it, but the Church might proceed to Cenſures and Puniſhment. By theſe Decrees, Cruelty and Treachery are become a part of their Doctrine, and they may join them to their Creed, upon as good Reaſons as they can ſhew for many of their other Additions.

The Nature of Man is not yet ſunk ſo low, as eaſily to hear theſe things without horror: therefore it is fit they ſhould be kept among the Secrets of their Religion, till a fit opportunity appear, in which they may ſerve a turn: and then we need not doubt but they will be made uſe of. If any will be ſo charitable to their Church, as not eaſily to believe this, the Hiſtory of the *Pariſian* Maſſacre may ſatisfie them to the full: which *Thuanus* ſays, was a Pitch of Barbarity beyond any thing that former Ages had ever ſeen: And if the *Iriſh Maſſacre*, flowing from the ſame Spirit, and the ſame Principles, had not gone beyond it, we might have reaſonably concluded, that it could never be matched again. But we may be taught from ſuch Precedents, what we ought to expect, when ever we are at the mercy of Perſons of that Religion, who, if they be true Sons of the Church of *Rome*, muſt renounce both Faith and Mercy to all Hereticks.

I ſhall give the Relation of this Maſſacre from that celebrated late Writer of the French Hiſtory, Mr. *de Mezeray*, only adding ſome Paſſages out of *Thuanus*, *Davila*, and others, where he is defective.

But I ſhall premiſe a ſhort repreſentation of the Civil Wars of *France*, which are made uſe of as the Arguments for juſtifying that Cruelty, and by which they do ſtill blemiſh the Proteſtant Religion, as teaching Rebellion againſt Princes.

During

During the Reign of *Francis* the *1ſt*, and *Henry* the *2d*, the Proteſtant Religion got great footing in *France*; the uſual ſeverities of the Church of *Rome* were then employed to extirpate it; yet tho their Numbers were very great, and the Perſecution moſt ſevere, they made no reſiſtance. But upon the death of *Henry* the *2d*, *Catherine de Medici*, the Queen Mother, with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, took the Government in their Hands; pretending that the King (*Francis* the *2d*) was of Age, being then ſixteen. The Princes of the Blood on the other hand alleadged, That the Kingdom ought to be under a Regency till the King was at leaſt 22 Years of Age: Since *Charles* the *6th* had been admitted at that Age to the Government, as a particular mark of their eſteem of him: So that tho the Age of Majority was at 25 Years, and that was a ſingular exception from a general Rule, yet at furtheſt, it ſhewed that the King could not aſſume the Government before he was two and twenty. Thuanus. *The abſtract of the Books written upon the Head, is in the Voluminous but Anonymous Hiſtorian of theſe Wars, printed at* Paris, *An.* 1581.

It was alſo an undoubted Right of the Princes of the Blood to hold the Regency, during the Minority of their Kings: and to adminiſter it, by the Direction of the Parliaments, and the Aſſembly of the States. Upon theſe Points, many things were written on both ſides. The Princes of the Blood pretended, they were excluded from the Government, againſt Law, and upon that were projecting how to poſſeſs themſelves of the Power; which, with the Perſon of the King, were violently kept from them. But the Prince of *Conde* being adviſed to it, by *Coligny* then Admiral of *France*, did alſo declare for mitigating the Severities againſt the Proteſtants. This being the Caſe, that the Point was truly diſputable, no Man can blame the Proteſtants for joining with their Friends againſt their Enemies. And yet this *Thuanus*, lib. 16.

Plot

Plot was driven no further, than an endeavour to take the King out of the Hands of his Mother, and the Brothers of *Lorrain*, who were all Foreigners. The chief Promoter of it was a Papiſt, *Renaudy*, and it was diſcovered by *Avennelles*; who tho he was moſt firm to his Religion, being a Proteſtant, yet having an averſion to all Plots, revealed it out of ſcruple of Conſcience.

Thuanus. Mezeray.

Soon after this Diſcovery, *Francis* the 2*d* died; and his Brother that ſucceded him, *Charles* the 9*th* was without diſpute under Age, he not being then full eleven years old. And according to the reſolution of many great Lawyers, in the caſe of his Brother, the Kingdom ought to have been under a Regency, during all the Wars that preceded the Maſſacre, for he was then but two and twenty. At firſt it was agreed to, that the King of *Navarre*, as the firſt Prince of the Blood, ought to be Regent; but he being wrought on, by the Queen Mother and her Party, and drawn over to them, the Lawyers were again ſet to examine, How far the Power of the Regent did extend: Many publiſhed their Opinions, That the other Princes of the Blood ought to have their ſhare in the Regency, and that the Regents might be checkt by the Courts of Parliaments, and were ſubject to an Aſſembly of the States.

The chief Point of State, then under Conſideration, was, What way to proceed with the Proteſtants, whoſe Numbers grew daily, and were now more conſiderable, having ſuch powerful Heads. A ſevere Edict came out againſt them in *July* 1561, condemning all Meetings for Religious Worſhip, except thoſe that were celebrated with the Rites of the Church of *Rome*, baniſhing all the Proteſtant Miniſters, and appointing the Biſhops to proceed againſt *Hereticks*; with this only mitigation of former Cruelties, That Baniſhment ſhould be the higheſt Puniſhment.

ment. But the Nation could not bear the Execution of this: So next *January* there was a great Aſſembly called of the Princes of the Blood, the Privy Counſellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, in which the Edict that carried the name of the Month, was paſſed. By it, the free exerciſe of that Religion was tolerated, and the Magiſtrates were required to puniſh all who ſhould hinder or interrupt it.

Not long after that, the Duke of *Guiſe* did diſturb a Meeting of Proteſtants at *Vaſſy*, as he was on his Journey to *Paris*; his Servants began with reproachful words, and from theſe they went to blows. It ended in a throwing of Stones, one of which hurt the Duke; but that was ſeverely revenged, about 60 were killed, and 200 wounded, no Age or Sex being ſpared. Upon this he encouraged the violation of the Edict every where; ſo that it was univerſally broken. The King of *Navarre* joined with him in theſe Courſes; but the Prince of *Conde*, that was next to him in the Royal Blood, declared for the Edicts: Many great Lawyers were of opinion, That the Regents Power was not ſo vaſt as to ſuſpend, or break the Edict, and that therefore the People might follow any Perſon, much more the next Prince of the Blood, in defence of it. This Plea was yet ſtronger, before the Year ended, for the King of *Navarre* being killed, the Prince of *Conde* was then by the Law of *France* the Rightful Regent: So that all the Wars that followed afterwards, till the Year 1570, had this to be ſaid for them, That in the Opinion of very Learned Men, the King was all that while under Age, that the Edicts were broken, the Kingdom governed by a Woman, and Foreigners, againſt Law, and that the lawful Regent was excluded from the Government; which made King *James*, whoſe Judgment is not to be ſuſpected in this Caſe, always *Davila*. lib. 3

ways juſtify the Proteſtants in *France*, and excuſe them from Rebellion.

This is a piece of Hiſtory little underſtood, and generally made uſe of to blemiſh the Reformation; therefore I thought it neceſſary to introduce the following Relation, with this juſt account of theſe Wars, that were the pretended grounds with which the Houſe of *Guiſe* covered their own Ambition, and hatred of the Family of *Burbon*.

After *France* had ſuffered all the Miſeries which a courſe of Civil Wars, for ten years together, carries after it, the King was adviſed to ſet on foot a Treaty of Peace; not ſo much out of a deſign to quiet Matters by a happy ſettlement, as to enſnare the Proteſtants into ſome fatal Trap, in which they being catched, might be ſafely and eaſily deſtroyed. The chief Authors of this advice, were the Queen Mother, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Count of *Rets*, and *Birague*; the laſt three were *Italians*, and ſo better fitted both for deſigning and carrying on ſo wicked a Council, to which the Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards *Henry* the third, was alſo admitted.

"They ſaid the extirpation of Hereſy might be done "much cheaper than by a Civil War. It was fit firſt to "grant the Proteſtants what conditions they deſired, then "to treat them with all poſſible kindneſs; by which their "Jealouſies were to be once extinguiſhed; and a con-"fidence being begotten in them; then to draw the chief "Heads of the Party to Court, upon ſome ſpecious At-"tractive, and there they were ſure of them. The firſt "Bait to be offered, was the marriage of the King's Siſter "to the King of *Navarre*, and if that ſucceded not, they "were to invent ſtill a new one, till they found that "which would do the Buſineſs. All the danger of this

"Coun-

" Council was, that the Pope and the King of *Spain* would " be much provok'd by it; and there might be ſome ha- " zard of Tumults, among the zealous People of *France*, " if the King ſeemed to favour the Hereticks too much. " But they reckoned, that when the Deſign took effect, " all who might be diſcontented with the appearance of " favour ſhewed to them, would be well ſatisfied, and the " more the *Pope* and *Spaniard* complained of it, it would " advance their chief end, of creating a confidence in the " Proteſtants more effectually. Thus were their Coun- cils laid. The Room in which this was firſt projected, was the Council-Chamber of *Blois*, where 16 Years after the Duke of *Guiſe* was killed, by *Henry* the third's orders. And it was more fully concluded in that Chamber at St. *Clou*, where the ſame *Henry* the third was murdered by a Dominican. Thuanus *lib.* 49.

The Deſign being agreed on, the Queen-Mother made ſome of her Spies, among the Proteſtants, aſſure them, that ſhe hated the King of *Spain* mortally, both on her Daughter's account, that was his Queen, and as was uni- verſally believed, had been poyſoned by his Orders; as alſo upon the conſideration of her own Family of *Flo- rence*, to which the *Spaniard* was then an uneaſy Neigh- bour: and deſigned to take the Territory of *Siena* out of their Hands. It was reaſonable enough to believe, that upon ſuch Motives, a Woman of her temper would ſet on a War with *Spain*. The King did alſo expreſs a great inclination to the ſame War, and to undertake the Pro- tection of the *Netherlands*, which were then under the Tyranny of the Duke of *Alva*'s Government. This wan- ted not a fair pretence, *Flanders* having been formerly ſubject to the Crown of *France*. He alſo ſeemed weary of the greatneſs of the Duke of *Guiſe* and his party, which a Civil War did ſtill encreaſe.

The King and the Queen-Mother employed alſo in theſe Meſſages, *Biron*, *Momorancy*, *Coſſe* and others, who were Men of great Integrity, and had much Friendſhip for the Queen of *Navarre* and the Admiral, that were the Heads of the Proteſtant Party. The Queen of *Navarre* was ſenſible of the great advantages her Son would receive from ſuch an Alliance. An Army was alſo promiſed her, for the recovery of her Kingdom from the *Spaniards*; which had been eaſily regained, if the Crown of *France* had aſſiſted her; ſince the Southern Parts of *France* were almoſt all Proteſtants, who would have willingly ſerved her againſt *Spain*. Only ſhe being a moſt Religious Woman, had great apprehenſions of the unlawfulneſs, at leaſt the extream danger of matching her Son to one of a different Religion; therefore ſhe took ſome time to conſider of that part of the Propoſition. The Admiral was very weary of the Civil War, it both ruined his Country, and ſlackened the diſcipline of War, which he had formerly obſerved with a *Roman* Severity.

He thought the Conqueſt of the *Netherlands* would be an eaſy and a great acceſſion to the Crown; he knew there was none ſo likely to be employed in it as himſelf, and he was reſolved to carry all the Souldiers of the Religion with him. And being Admiral, he alſo deſigned to raiſe the greatneſs of the Crown both at Sea, and in the new-found World, which was then ſending over an incredible deal of Wealth to *Spain*; in which the *Spaniards* who had landed in *Florida*, and killed a Colony of the *French*, that was ſetled there, had given juſt cauſe to make War upon them. Therefore as he had often expreſſed his being ſo averſe to a Civil War, that he could no longer look on and ſee the Miſeries it brought on his Country; ſo he was made believe the King did in good earneſt intend to aſſiſt the *Flemings*, which being both againſt

againſt the *Spaniard*, and in defence of thoſe of the ſame Religion, he would by no means hinder.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, there was a Peace concluded between the King and the Proteſtants, by which the free exerciſe of their Religion was granted: ſome Cautionary Towns were alſo put in their Hands, to be kept by them two Years, till there were a full ſettlement made of the Edicts, and the other things agreed to, for their Security. The King acted his part with all the Artifice poſſible, he became much kinder to the Family of *Momorancy* and the reſt of the Admirals Friends, and ſeemed to neglect thoſe of *Lorrain*. He threatned the Parliament of *Paris*, becauſe they made ſome difficulty in paſſing the Edict in favours of the Proteſtants. He went ſecretly to meet with *Lewis* Count of *Naſſaw*, and treated with him about the Wars of the *Netherlands*. He married the Emperor's Daughter, who was thought a Proteſtant in his Heart. He entred in a Confederacy with Q. *Elizabeth*: and the Cardinal of *Chaſtilion* (the Admiral's Brother, who had renounced his red Hat, and turned a Proteſtant) being then in *England*, was employed to ſet on foot a Treaty of Marriage between the Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen: A Peace was alſo made with the Princes of the Empire. And tho both the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador and the Legat did all they could to hinder the Peace, and the Marriage of the King of *Navarre*, yet they ſeemed to make no account of that at Court: Only the King gave the Legat great aſſurances of his Fidelity to the Apoſtolick See, and that all that he was doing, was for the intereſt of the Catholick Religion. And taking him one day by the Hand: "He deſired him to aſſure the "Pope, that his deſign in this Marriage, was that he might "be revenged on thoſe that were Enemies to God, and "Rebels againſt himſelf, and that he would either puniſh "them

Caten. vita d. Pio Quinto.

" them ſeverely, and cut them all in pieces, or loſe his " Crown. All which he would do in compliance with " the Advices he had received from the Pope, who had " continually ſet him on to deſtroy them; and he ſaw no " way of doing it ſo ſecurely, as by getting them once to " truſt him, having tried all other methods in vain. And for a pledg of his Faith, he offered him a Ring of great value; which the Legat refuſed to take, pretending that he never took Preſents from any Prince, and that the Word of ſo great a King, was a better ſecurity than any Pledg whatſoever.

Upon all theſe demonſtrations of Friendſhip made to the Proteſtants, it was no wonder if Perſons of ſuch Candor, as the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Admiral, were deceived. The Admiral went firſt to Court, where he was received by the King with the greateſt ſhew of kindneſs and reſpect that was poſſible. He embraced him thrice, laid his Cheek to his, ſqueezing his Hands, called him *Father*, and left nothing undone that might poſſeſs him with a firm Opinion of his Friendſhip. Nor was the Queen-Mother leſs officious to expreſs her kindneſs to him. He was allowed to keep fifty armed Gentlemen about him. An hundred thouſand *Franks* were ſent him, for furniſhing his Houſes that had been ſpoiled during the Wars. And which was more than all the reſt, when Complaints were carried by him to the King, of ſome who violated the Edict, great Inſolencies being committed in many places; the King ordered them to be exemplarily puniſhed. So that there was a general repining over all *France*, at the King's kindneſs to him. The King had alſo told him, that now he had got him near him, he would never ſuffer him to leave him any more.

The Deſign ſucceeding ſo well on the Admiral, the Pro-

Propoſition of the Marriage was alſo carried on; and the Queen of *Navarre* was next brought to Court, but ſoon after died (as was generally believed) of Poiſon, that was given her in ſome perfumed Gloves; to conceal which, the Chirurgeons that opened her, would not touch her Head, but pretended ſhe died of an Impoſthume in her ſide. The Cardinal of *Chaſtilion* was alſo at that time poiſoned, which tho afterwards confeſſed by him that had done it, yet was not then ſo much as ſuſpected.

The King ſeemed more and more ſet on the War in *Flanders*. He ſent both to *England*, and *Germany*, to conſult about the Preparations for it, and had agreed with the Prince of *Orange*, about the Diviſion of the *Netherlands:* That all on their ſide of *Antwerp* ſhould come to the Crown of *France:* And what lay on the other ſide of it ſhould belong to the *States*. He ſent a Proteſtant his Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*, to engage the Grand Signior unto a War with *Spain*. He alſo furniſhed the Count of *Naſſaw* with Mony, and ſent ſome of his beſt Captains with him to try if they could ſurprize any Towns near the Frontier, who did their part ſo dextrouſly, that *Mons* was ſurprized by the Count of *Naſſaw*, and *Valenciennes* by *La Noüe*, according to *Mezeray*; tho he ſeems to be miſtaken as to *Valenciennes*, for *Thuanus* and *Davila* ſay nothing of it, but mention *Mons* only. And *Veremundus Friſius*, who wrote the Hiſtory of that Maſſacre the Year after, ſays, That they miſſed their Deſign in ſurpriſing *Valenciennes*, upon which they went to *Mons* and carried it. Upon this all reckoned that the King was now engaged, and the War begun. So the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, were brought to Court, and received with all the Marks of a firm Friendſhip, that could be invented. A Diſpenſation was obtained from the new Pope for the Marriage.

Printed at Edingburgh, 1573.

Vere-

Veremundus ſays, Pope *Pius* the *5th* had always oppoſed it, but upon the Cardinal of *Alexandria*'s return to *Rome*, who went to aſſiſt in the Conclave, where *Gregory* the *13th* was choſen, the new Pope eaſily granted the Bull, which was believed to have flowed from the Information he received from that Cardinal, of the King's Deſign in this Marriage, which to be ſure his Holineſs would neither obſtruct nor delay. So the Bull being ſent to the Cardinal of *Burbon*, the day was ſet, and the chief heads of the Proteſtants were all drawn into *Paris*, partly to aſſiſt at the Solemnities of a Marriage, which they hoped would put an end to all their Troubles; partly to get Charges in the Army, which all People believed would be commanded by the Admiral. Only many of the hotteſt of them had followed *Jenlis* and *La Noüe* into *Flanders*, where it was intended to abandon them to the cruelty of the Duke of *Alva*, who had intercepted and cut off a great Body of them commanded by *Jenlis*. The Admiral preſſed the King to declare the War immediately; foreſeeing that unleſs it followed ſuddenly, his Friends that had ſurprized theſe Towns, would be deſtroyed, and the whole Deſign ſpoiled. But the King put him off with delays, in which he expreſſed much Confidence in him, by telling him the ſecret grounds he had to diſtruſt almoſt every Perſon about him: and that therefore he muſt of neceſſity ſettle his Court and Councils firſt, before he could enter upon ſuch a War.

But now the Deſign being ripe, the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom it had alſo been communicated, was employed to gather many deſperate Men about him, who might be fit to execute all Orders; and the thing getting into more hands, took wind, ſo that they at *Rochel* being informed of ſome ſuſpicious Paſſages, wrote to the Admiral,

to

to diſabuſe him, and deſired he would leave the Court, and truſt no more to the fair appearances he ſaw there; ſince theſe were only the Masks of ſome great Miſchief that was framing. To them he wrote a long Anſwer, and aſſured them, "That the King's Heart was wholly "changed, that there was never a better Prince in the "World, and that for his owe part, he would die a thou- "ſand Deaths, rather than ſuſpect him capable of ſo baſe a "Deſign. Then he laid before them all the reaſons which "induced him to believe the War with *Spain* was really "intended, and therefore he deſired, that they would "lay dow their groundleſs Jealouſies. And when ſome that were about him, preſſed the ſame things upon him; he told them plainly, He would rather be deſtroyed, than make a new Rupture; and would be dragged at Horſe-heels through *Paris*, rather than begin another Civil War. His Authority was ſo great, and his Experience ſo approved, that the whole Party ſubmitted to his Judgment: And he got ſome Cautionary Towns, that were by the Treaty of Peace to be reſtored at the end of two Years, to be delivered up three Weeks before the time was elapſed: Only the *Rochellers* were a little more apprehenſive, and would not receive a Garriſon.

On the 17*th* of *Auguſt* was the King of *Navarre* Married, and four days were ſpent in all the gallant Diverſions, that are uſual on ſuch Occaſions, but were now performed with more than ordinary Magnificence and Joy.

Hitherto the Mine was working under ground, and now it was time for it to play. There was nothing could be blamed in the Conduct of the Proteſtants, but too much Candor and too great Confidence. They knew they deſigned nothing, but the quiet of their Coun-

Country, and the greatneſs of the Crown. They were cajol'd with the moſt engaging tokens of Friendſhip, that ever were ſhewed on any ſuch Occaſion; they thought the King was ſincere, and being then but coming to be of Age, was taking new Meaſures. And he had ſo covered the Cruelty of his Temper, with a ſhew of good Nature, that they expected they ſhould be moſt happy under him. And for the Queen-Mother, tho they knew her too well to put any confidence in her; yet her Paſſion for her Family, and her Revenge for the poyſoning of her Daughter, made them think they were alſo well aſſured of her. And indeed ſo deep and ſo refin'd a Diſſimulation was perhaps never before acted. There was but one part of the King's Deportment that could give any ground for Jealouſie, the horrid and blaſphemous Oaths and Imprecations, which he made uſe of on all occaſions to perſuade them of the reality of his Profeſſions; which always raiſe ſuſpicion in ſober and wary Perſons. Theſe the King uſed ſo frequently, that the Writers of that Time, ſay, That he ſeldom ſpoke three words without ſome terrible Oath, or blaſphemous Expreſſion, which from his ill Example, was ſo ſpread over all *France*, that none but the *Proteſtants*, ſpoke in any other ſtrain.

But now when it fell under Conſideration, how their Deſigns ſhould be executed, the Queen with her two *Italian* Confidents, the Count *de Rets*, and *Birague*, who, next to the *Proteſtants*, hated the Houſe of *Guiſe* beyond all the World, yet diſſembling it moſt artificially; intended that the buſineſs ſhould be ſo managed, as to ruine both the *Proteſtants*, and that Family at once: Therefore they thought, that if ſome of their Followers would aſſaſſinate the Admiral, the *Proteſtants* would turn their Revenge on them, and they knew the *Pariſians*

ſians, would be eaſily moved to riſe againſt the *Proteſtants*; and ſo they reckoned, that if an attempt was made upon the Admiral, by any of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Creatures, his Party would preſently take a ſevere Revenge on the Head of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and the *Pariſians* would be ſoon brought out to deſtroy them.

They concealed this part of their Deſign, and in the Cabinet-Council only propoſed, that the Duke of *Guiſe* would find ſome perſon to kill the Admiral, which ſhould paſs like an act of private Revenge; and they ſaid, they did not doubt, but the whole party would upon that take arms, and thereupon, there would be a good colour given, to bring out the City of *Paris* upon them. The Duke of *Guiſe* being young and hot, and boiling with Revenge for his Father's Blood, undertook it, not conſidering that himſelf might periſh in the firſt heat of action, as the Queen hoped he ſhould. He pitch'd on *Maurenel*, who had formerly aſſaſſinated another Perſon, and placed him in the Houſe of one that had been his Tutor, near St. *German* of *Auxerre*, where the Admiral uſed to paſs, as he went or came from the *Louvre*.

It was now neceſſary to execute their Deſign quickly, for the *Proteſtants* were beginning to apprehend ſome danger. They ſaw the King was reſolved, to let thoſe who had ſurprized the Towns in *Flanders* periſh, without ſending them any Relief. The Admiral was reſolved to take leave within a few days: His Friend, the Duke of *Montmorency*, tho no *Proteſtant*, yet ſaw the Storm coming, and retired to his Houſe: and many little Circumſtances occurred, which gave them all juſt cauſe of fear: So the other Party had no time to loſe. Therefore on the 22*d* of *Auguſt*, about Noon as the Admiral was going Home from the Court, reading a Paper that he had

in his hand, the Aſſaſſinate that was laid for him, ſhot him from the Houſe, where the Duke of *Guiſe* had placed him; his Fuzee was charged with three Bullets, that were believed to be poyſoned. One of theſe carried away part of the Fore-finger of his right Hand; the other ſtuck in his left Arm, and the third miſſed him. He received it with great preſence of mind, and pointed to the Houſe from whence it came; he alſo ſent one to the King to give him notice of it, and then ordered his Arm to be bound up, and ſo went Home leaning on his Servants. Some run to the Houſe and broke into it, but found none there, ſave a Lacquey, and a Maid, and the Fuzee, which the Murderer left behind him, when he made his eſcape. The King was in the Tenis-Court when the news were brought him: He perſonated a deep reſentment, and ſaid in a Tone that ſeemed full of affliction, and with a terrible Oath, *Shall I never have quiet!* and ſo threw away his Racquet, and went out in a rage. The Duke of *Guiſe* did alſo counterfeit ſome Surpriſe.

But they miſſed their deſigns, both ways, for neither was the Admiral killed, nor did the *Proteſtants* fly out into any diſorder. The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, came upon this to the King to complain, and deſired leave to go out of Town, ſince Men were not ſafe ſo near the Court. The King ſeemed to reſent it, more than they did, and with the horribleſt Oaths he could think of, ſwore he would execute ſuch a Revenge on all that were found guilty of it, whoever they were, that it ſhould never be forgotten; and deſired them to ſtay and be Witneſſes of it. The Queen-Mother made alſo ſhew of inflaming his Rage with moſt vehement Expreſſions, ſo that they were perſuaded to ſtay. The King ordered the Murderer to be purſued, the two Ser-

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vants to be Examined, and all the Gates of *Paris* (except two) to be kept ſhut. The Admirals carriage on this occaſion, was ſuitable to the reſt of his behaviour, and equal to what the greateſt Heroe's had ever ſhewed. *Ambroſe Parè*, the famous Surgeon, dreſſed his Wound, he made the Inciſion into his Arm, that he might take out the Bullet, and did cut off his Finger for fear of a Gangreen: But his Sciſſars not being ſharp enough, he put him to extream pain, and did not cut it off but at the third repriſe: during all which, the Admiral expreſſed no impatience nor anger. But as *Parè* told *Thuanus*, he ſaid to Mr. *Maur* a Miniſter that ſtood by, *Now I perceive that I am beloved of God, ſince I ſuffer theſe Wounds for his moſt holy Name.* And during the Operation, he often repeated theſe words, *O my God, forſake me not, and withdraw not thy wonted Favour from me!* And whiſpered one that was holding his Arm, in the Ear, that he ſhould diſtribute an hundred Crowns among the poor of *Paris*.

Next day *Damvil*, *Coſſe*, and *Villars*, came to viſit and comfort him, but confeſſed it was needleſs, for he expreſſed great reſolution of mind and readineſs to die, only he deſired to ſee the King, and ſpeak with him before he died. *Damvil* and *Teligny* (the Admirals Son in Law) carried this Meſſage to the King, who very readily yielded to it. The Queen-Mother apprehending the great Genius of the Admiral, and fearing leſt he ſhould turn her Son to better Councils, would needs go with the King. His two Brothers, with twelve of the chief Perſons in the Court, waited alſo on him, to make a ſhew of putting the more Honour on the Admiral, but really to watch the King, that he might have no opportunity of ſpeaking with him alone. When the King came to his Bed-ſide, he expreſſed the greateſt tenderneſs poſſible, and in his Looks, and the

tone of his Voice counterfeited a moſt profound ſorrow, and ſaid to him, *You, my Father, have received the Wound, but I feel the ſmart of it, and will puniſh it in ſo ſevere a manner, that the like was never ſeen.* The Admiral thanked him, and told him, By his Wound, he might well perceive, who were the Authors of the Troubles of *France*. He preſſed him earneſtly to go on with the War in *Flanders*, and not leave all thoſe Gallant Perſons to the Duke of *Alva*'s Inſolence and Cruelty, who had truſted to his Protection. He complained of the Violation of the Edict in ſeveral parts of *France*; and deſired the King, to conſider how much it concerned him both in Honour and Intereſt, to keep his Faith inviolated. The King gave him full aſſurances of this, but avoided the diſcourſe of *Flanders*, and with repeated Oaths told him, he would puniſh this Fact againſt him, as if it had been done againſt himſelf. Then the Admiral deſired to ſpeak privately with the King, which laſted not long; for the Queen-Mother, apprehending what the ſubject of his Diſcourſe might be, came to the Bed-ſide and told the King, that ſo long a Converſation would much endanger the Admirals health, and ſo broke it off. Yet it ſeems, as ſhort as it was, it made ſome Impreſſion, for when ſhe asked the King, what it was that he had ſaid to him? He anſwered, *He had adviſed him to Reign himſelf, and he was reſolved to follow it.* When this was over, the King asked the Admirals Friends, and the Phyſicians many queſtions about his Health, and propoſed for his greater ſecurity, the carrying him to the *Louvre*. But the Phyſicians ſaid, he could not be ſafely removed. So after he had ſtaied an hour he left him, during which time he acted the part, he intended to play, ſo well, that all the Witneſſes were ſatisfied with the Sincerity and Paſſion he expreſſed.

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The Court of Parliament examined the Maid, and Lackquey, that were taken in the Houſe from whence he was ſhot, about the Murtherer: and many preſumptions appeared againſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe Servants, they found, had brought him to that Houſe, and had provided an Horſe for his eſcape. The King wrote that ſame day both to his Ambaſſadours in forreign parts, and to the Governours of the Provinces, ſhewing them what had befallen the Admiral, and how much he reſented it. The next day being the 23*d*, the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Uncle the Duke of *Aumale*, came and deſired leave to go out of Town. The King by his Looks and Carriage ſeemed to abhor them; and ſaid, they might do what they pleaſed; but as they went away, he ſaid, they might go whither they would, but he ſhould find them out, if they appeared to be guilty of that Fact. And ſo they mounted on Horſe-back and rode to the Port St. *Anthony*, as if they had intended to go out of Town, but came back to *Guiſe-houſe*: and began to raiſe a great ſtir in *Paris*. They called many about them, and ſent their Agents all over the Town, and ſent Arms to divers places. When News of this was brought to the Admiral, he ſent to the King to deſire a Guard, ſo 50 were ſent under the Command of *Coſſeins*, one of his bittereſt Enemies. But to cover the matter better, ſome of the King of *Navarres Swiſſes*, were ſent to Guard within his Houſe. The King did alſo order all the Papiſts that lay near his Houſe, to remove their Lodgings, that the Proteſtants might have conveniency to be about him, and gather together if there ſhould be any Tumult. He alſo deſired the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* would gather about them their beſt Friends, that they might be prepared to defend themſelves, in caſe the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould raiſe any diſorders.

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All this ſeemed not only ſincere, but kind; and by theſe Arts were the Proteſtants, not only ſecured from their fears, but had great hopes raiſed in them: And thus the greateſt part of them were brought within the Net, that was laid for their ruine. Only the Vice-Lord (or *Vidam*) of *Chartres* ſaw through the diſguiſe: And a Council of their Party being held in the Admirals Chamber, he ſpoke freely, and told them, the Admirals Wound was the firſt Act of the Tragedy, and more would ſoon follow. Therefore he propoſed, that he might be carried to *Chaſtilion*, ill as he was, in which there was leſs danger, than to ſtay in a place where they and all their Friends would be ſuddenly deſtroyed. *Teligny* and others, that were fully perſwaded of the Kings good Intentions, oppoſed this much, and ſaid, it would ſhew ſuch a diſtruſt of the King, as might for ever loſe him, that was then beginning to favour their Party. But the *Vidam* anſwered, that ſtay who would, he would not ſtay longer than to Morrow, for he was aſſured their ſtay would be fatal to themſelves, and all their Friends.

There was a perfidious Perſon in that Aſſembly, one *Bouchavannes*, who was an Intelligencer to the Queen-Mother, and carried preſently an account of their Conſultation to her. She and her Party were now preſſed with time, therefore the execution of their Deſign could be no longer delayed than the next Night. So the Council met and reſolved, that not only the Perſons of Quality of the Religion ſhould be killed, but that every one of what condition ſoever, that were of that Profeſſion ſhould be Maſſacred. It was debated long, whether the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, ſhould periſh with the reſt? for the Duke of *Guiſe* his Party had a great mind to deſtroy the whole Family of *Bourbon:* but as for the King of *Navarre*, it was thought contrary to the Laws of Nations, of Hoſpitality

pitality, and of Nature, to murder a King, that had come under truſt to the Court, and was now ſo nearly allied to the King: and was guilty of no Crime, but what he had from his Education. So it was reſolved, he ſhould be ſpared, and made change his Religion. But for the Prince of *Conde*, he was naturally fierce, and that temper, joined with the memory of his Father, made them leſs inclined to ſave him; Only the Duke of *Nevers*, who had married his Wifes Siſter, interpoſed vigorouſly for him, and undertook that he ſhould become a good Catholick, and a faithful Subject: And he prevailed, tho with great difficulty, that he ſhould be ſpared. But for the reſt, it was agreed on, to raiſe the Town of *Paris*, and ſet them upon them, who were inflamed into ſuch a rage againſt that Party, that they knew it would be an eaſy work to engage them in any ſort of Cruely againſt them.

The conduct of it was committed to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who undertook it very chearfully. He did firſt communicate it to the Guards, and ordered them to keep a ſtrict Watch, both about the *Louvre*, and the places where the Admiral and his Friends were lodged, that none might eſcape; then he deſired the Provoſt (or Major) of *Paris*, and the chief Magiſtrates and Officers of the City, would meet at Midnight in the Town-houſe, where they ſhould receive their Orders. They met accordingly, and it was intimated to them, that the King was now reſolved to deſtroy the Hereticks, who had ſo long diſtracted his Kingdom: that therefore every one ſhould go to his Quarter, and have all People in readineſs, with the greateſt ſecrecy that might be, and that they ſhould have many Torches and Flambeaus ready, to light out at their Windows. The Sign ſhould be a white Linnen Sleeve on their left Arm, and a white Croſs in their Caps: and at the tolling of the great Bell of the Palace, which ſhould be

be done near the break of Day, they ſhould light their Torches and march.

The King in the mean while, was under great irreſolution. The horror of the Fact, the infamy that would follow it, and the danger he might be in, if it either miſcarried, or were not fully executed, could not but fill him with Confuſion. But the Queen, who had overcome all the impreſſions of Tenderneſs and Pity, that are natural to her Sex, hearing of it, came to him, and ſtudied to confirm him in his former reſolutions, repreſenting to him all the trouble they had given him in the former Wars, and that he might expect yet worſe, if he would let go this opportunity, of ſecuring the quiet of his whole Reign. She knew how to work upon him ſo well, that in end ſhe prevailed, and the King ſwore deeply he would go through with it. Upon that, ſhe being impatient, and fearing a new turn in the Kings Thoughts, made the Bell of St. *Germans* be tolled, which was the warning for tolling that in the Palace.

This fatal Signal was given the Morning of the 24*th* of *Auguſt*, St. *Bartholomews* day, being Sunday; and was followed with a general Riſing of the whole City of *Paris*. The March of Souldiers, the noiſe of their Arms, and the lightning of ſo many Torches, awakened the poor *Proteſtants*, who now ſaw viſibly that their ruine was both near and inevitable. Some of them went out to the Streets, and asked what the matter might be, of ſo great a Concourſe, and ſo many Torches and armed Men, at ſuch an hour? Some anſwered, as they had been inſtructed to ſay, till all things ſhould be ready, that there was to be a Mock-Siege of a Fort in the *Louvre*, for the Kings Diverſion. So they went forward to ſatisfy their Curioſity, but quickly found it was a real Maſſacre, and not a Mock-Siege that was intended, and they were the firſt Sacri-

Sacrifices of that bloody Feſtivity. There were now about threeſcore thouſand Men brought together. The Duke of *Guiſe*, with his Uncle *Aumale*, reſolved firſt to ſatisfie their revenge on the Admiral, and therefore went to his Gate, where *Coſſeins* kept guard, on deſign to betray him the more effectually. He called to open the Gate; which being done, they killed the Porter and broke into the Court. But the King of *Navarr's Swiſſes* barricado'd the next Gate, and made ſome reſiſtance. This diſmal noiſe awakened the Admiral, who at firſt apprehended, it might be ſome Tumult of the Populace, which he hoped the King's Guards would eaſily diſperſe. But when he perceived it encreaſed, then he ſaw he was to be deſtroyed. So he took his Night-Gown and got up: Thoſe that were about him were amazed at the conſtancy of his mind, his Miniſter *Merlin* prayed; and when that was ended, He ſaid to thoſe that were about him, *I ſee now what this will end in, but I am prepared to meet Death, which I have often looked for, but was never afraid of: I account my ſelf happy ſince it is ſo near me, having in this my Death, through the Grace of God the hope of Eternal Life. I need no more the help of Men, therefore farewel, my Friends, and try how you can ſave your ſelves, that you be not involved in my ruin, leſt by my death I make more Widows than one: I have help enough in the preſence of God, into whoſe hands I commit my Soul, which is ſoon to be diſcharged out of this Body.* All this he ſpoke without the leaſt commotion or appearance of fear. Then thoſe about him left him, and got up to the Roof of the Houſe. By that time the Murderers had brook in, and ſeven of them being all in Armour, came into his Chamber. *Beſme*, that had been one of the Duke of *Guiſes* Grooms, advanced towards him; to whom he ſaid, *Young Man, you ought to reverence my gray Hairs, but you cannot ſhorten*

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my Life much. They all ſtood a while amazed at ſuch undaunted courage, and ſo compoſed a behaviour, which as one of them told *Thuanus*, was the moſt extraordinary thing that ever he ſaw his whole Life. *Beſme* did firſt thruſt him into the Belly, and then cut him over the Face: at which he fell, and the others ſtruck at him, till he was quite dead. The Duke of *Guiſe* being below in the Court, heard the noiſe, and called to them to throw him out at the Window, which *Beſme* and another did. And either the Duke, or the Count of *Angouleſme* (for it is differently reported) wiped his Face, which was diſfigured with Blood, to know if it was he indeed, and perceiving it was ſo, trampled on his Belly, and went away. An *Italian* cut off his Head, and carried it firſt to the Queen-Mother, and then embalmed it, and ſent it to *Rome*, (not only *as the Proteſtants ſay*, which is diſingeniouſly added, by *Mezeray*, for *Thuanus* affirms it): Then all the ignominy and barbarity poſſible, was exerciſed about the dead Carcaſe, his Fingers and Hands were cut off, his Body dragged about the Streets, thrown in the *Sein*, and hanged up in Chains his Feet uppermoſt: and a fire was ſet under to burn it, but it only dried it and did not conſume it. Some days after *Monmorancy* cauſed it to be taken down ſecretly, and buried it in his Chappel at *Chantilly*.

Thus fell the Admiral, that for all noble Qualities neceſſary, either to a great Captain, or a compleat Stateſman, may be equalled to any of the Ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*; and for Piety and other Chriſtian Vertues, was the Wonder of the Age he lived in.

But the Cruelty of the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Party, was rather kindled than ſatiated with his Blood. So he and his Company went out to the ſtreets, and cried aloud, *It was the King's command they ſhould go on, and finiſh what*

what they had begun. And ſo the Multitude was let looſe, to murder all that were of the Religion, and the plunder of their Houſes was to be their reward. This was followed with the moſt enraged and cruel Maſſacre that ever was heard of. It exceeded all that either the Heathens had done, or their Poets had feigned. Every Man ſeemed a Fury, and as if they had been transformed into Tigres and Wolves, out-did the very cruelty of Beaſts of Prey. The bare relation of Matters of Fact, is beyond all that Eloquence can invent, by which it may be aggravated: and indeed a ſtrict Narrative of what was really done, will appear ſome Ages hence, as a Tragical deſcription of an imaginary Cruelty, rather than a true Hiſtory. Five hundred Perſons of Quality were murdered, and in all 4000 according to *Thuanus* and *Mezeray*. *Perefixe* the late B. of *Paris* ſays, there were twenty Lords of note killed, and twelve hundred Gentlemen, and between three and four thouſand others. But *Veremundus* ſays, they were ten thouſand. No Age nor Sex was ſpared; Huſbands and Wives were killed in one anothers Arms, after they ſaw their Children murthered at their feet. One butcher'd an innocent Babe, as it was playing with his Beard. Men of fourſcore were not left to the courſe of Nature, but hewen down. Nor did a ſingle death ſatisfie their brutal rage, but they made them die many deaths, before death relieved them. One would cut off the Noſe, another the Ear, a third the Hands, and a fourth the Arms of the ſame Perſon, before they would be ſo merciful as to kill him out-right. Thoſe that fled up to the tops of their Houſes, were made leap over to the Streets, where they were knocked down with Halberts. Such as ran out to eſcape through dark Paſſages, were either inſtantly killed, or driven to the *Sein*, where they took

pleaſure to kill and drown them with much art. Dead Bodies floated all along the *Seine*, and were lying in heaps thorough the Streets. In many places the Kennels ran Blood. There was nothing to be heard but the howlings of mangled and dying Perſons; or the horrid blaſphemies of their accurſed Butchers. They ſearched all the Corners of their Houſes, as Hounds purſuing for prey. No Man delivered his Friend; no Hoſt had pity on his Gueſt: Only one brave Man ſaved his Enemy.

The *Louvre* it ſelf was full of Blood, and the dead Corpes of thoſe whom the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* had brought about them for their ſecurity: but where they expected a Sanctuary, they found a Maſſacre. It is needleſs to reckon up the Names of thoſe noble Perſons who were then deſtroyed, for the memory of *Rochfoucant*, *Teligny*, *Renel*, *Piles*, *Pluvial*, *Baudine*, *Guerchy*, *Lavardin*, *Nompar* or *La Force*, and five hundred more will be ever ſacred; yet in this Nation where theſe Families are not known, the recital would be tedious and uſeleſs. Of all thoſe *Guerchy* alone died with a Sword in his Hand, but could hurt none of thoſe that aſſaulted him, they having Armour on them.

This horrible Confuſion, gave the Allarm to thoſe who lay in the Suburbs on the other ſide of the *Seine* to make haſte and be gone; and they, having no ſuſpicion of the King himſelf, were thinking to have gone over and ſheltred themſelves within the *Louvre*. The *Pariſians* had now loſt all order, and were fallen to plunder, ſo that they could not be bronght together: Therefore the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent over ſome of the *Swiſſe* Guards in Boats to kill them, and himſelf followed with ſome Horſe; and had it not been for the miſtake of him who brought the wrong Keys of the Gate, thorough which he was to paſs, they had been all ſurprized before they

they had reſolved what courſe to take. But day appearing, they ſaw enough to convince them, it was not time to delay any more: So in the greateſt confuſion poſſible, they got on Horſeback, and fled away. The Duke of *Guiſe* purſued them, but they were out of his reach, and not being ſtrong enough to defend themſelves, and keep in a Body, they diſperſed and eſcaped.

But the fury that they fled from, continued in *Paris* all that day, and the two following days: In which nothing was left undone that ingenious and deſperate cruelty could ſuggeſt. Six hundred Houſes were pillaged. And after ſuch a glut of Blood, Mens minds becoming ſavage, they fell to revenge private Enmities, even upon their Fellow Papiſts; many of whom were in the end alſo murdered, but thoſe were chiefly *Monorancy* his Friends, who were thought cold in the matter of Religion.

The moſt enraged of their Blood-hounds were *Tanchou*, *Peſou*, and *Croſier* a Goldſmith; the two former drove many to the Mills, and forced them to leap from thence into the River. *Peſou* boaſted to the King himſelf, that he had made an hundred and fifty leap that night. And *Thuanus* ſays, he often heard *Croſier* ſay, That with that Hand he had killed 400: by which it ſeems he was thought ſo ſanctified, that he would live no longer a common life, but as a ſacred Perſon went to an Hermitage; where yet his cruelty left him not; for during the Warrs of the League, he drew a Flemiſh Merchant into his Cell and murdered him there. Thus were the Proteſtants deſtroyed in *Paris*, with a Treachery and Cruelty that the uncivilized Nations had never ſhewed to one another, nor had the Heathens been ever guilty of any thing like it towards the Chriſtians. The Precedent which the Church of *Rome* had formerly given

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in the *Maſſare* of the *Albigenſes*, was the likeſt thing in Hiſtory to it for Barbarity; but never had Treachery and Cruelty met together in ſuch a manner before this execrable day.

At Court all thoſe generous Impreſſions which follow noble Blood, ſeemed extinguiſhed. Men threw off Humanity, and Women had neither compaſſion nor modeſty. The Queen-Mother and her Ladies took pleaſure to look upon the moſt deteſtable Objects, and greedily beheld ſome obſcene and indecent ſights; but it is not fit to write all that was then done. About nine of the Clock, the King ſent for the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, and told them he was forced to uſe that ſevere Remedy to put an end to War and Rebellion, and had therefore deſtroyed thoſe, whom he could not induce to obey: And for them, tho he had good reaſon to hate them mortally, ſince they had led on a Rebellion againſt him, yet in conſideration of their Blood and Alliance, he was reſolved to ſpare them if they would change their Religion, otherwiſe they muſt look for no better uſage than their Servants had met with. The King ſpake this with great rage, ſo that the King of *Navarre* being terrified, ſaid, That if the King would ſave their lives, and leave them their Conſciences free, they ſhould in all other things be commanded by him. But the Prince of *Conde* anſwered more boldly, That he might diſpoſe of his Life and Eſtate as he pleaſed, but for his Religion, he owed an account of it to God alone, from whom he had received the knowledg of it. This reſolute Anſwer put the King in ſuch a rage, that after he had treated him with moſt abuſive language, he ſwore, That if he did not change within three days, he ſhould hang for it. And ſo ordered them to be ſtrictly guarded. At the ſame time there were Expreſſes diſpatched over

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all *France*, to ſet on the People both in the Towns and Country, to imitate the example of the *Pariſians*, and deſtroy the Hereticks. Yet the King either out of ſome remorſe or ſhame, wrote to his Ambaſſadours and the Governours of the Provinces, that ſame day: That the Duke of *Guiſe*, and others that adhered him, having a great intereſt in the City of *Paris*, and apprehending that the Admirals Friends were reſolved to revenge his Wound, had therefore, both to ſecure themſelves, and to proſecute their former Quarrels, raiſed the City of *Paris*: and had broke through the Guards ſet to defend the Admiral, and killed him, and many other Perſons of Quality; the rage of the People being ſuch, that the King's Guards could do nothing to repreſs it: Therefore he was forced to keep himſelf within the *Louvre*, but had, as ſoon as was poſſible, quieted the Town; ſo that all things were put in order again; and he was reſolved ſtill to maintain his Edict, made for the free Exerciſe of their Religion. *Veremundus* has printed the Copies of the Letters, directed to the Governours of *Burgundy* and *Tourain*, and to the Town of *Bourges*, with the Memorial ſent to the *Swiſs* Cantons, all to the ſame purpoſe, bearing date the 24*th* of *Auguſt*. And in another Letter the King wrote, That he had made up a new agreement with the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, and was reſolved to run the ſame hazard with them, for revenging the death of his Couſin the late Admiral. But the Houſe of *Guiſe* would not bear this, and made the King own, that all was done by his expreſs Orders. So on the 26*th* of *Auguſt*, the King went to the Court of Parliament, and after an invidious repetition of all the Troubles of his Reign, which yet he ſaid, he intended to have quieted by the late Treaty of Peace, he diſcovered that the Admiral had conſpired to kill him, his Brothers,

Brothers, and the King of *Navarre*, and to ſet up the young Prince of *Conde*, whom he alſo deſigned afterwards to kill, that ſo the whole Royal Family being deſtroyed, he might make himſelf King: and ſince extream Diſeaſes required extream Remedies, he was forced to do what he had done; and concluded, that all was done by his expreſs Order and Command. *Thuanus* the Father, tho he abhorred the thing, yet out of fear and compliance, made a baſe flattering Speech, of the neceſſity of diſſimulation in Princes, and did much commend that ſaying of *Lewis* the 11*th*. *He who knows not how to Diſſemble, knows not how to Reign.* And *Pibrac* the Attourney General moved the King, that the Declaration he had made might be entred in their Regiſters, and that ſtrict Orders might be given, to put an end to the Blood and Confuſion with which the City was filled: Both which the King ordered to be done. The Declaration which was thereupon publiſhed on the 28*th*, is printed by *Veremundus*. By it the King charged all Perſons, under pain of Death, through the whole Kingdom, to do no injury to the *Proteſtants*. And at the ſame time declared it Capital, for the *Proteſtants* to have any Aſſemblies. This was believed to be done rather on deſign to deſtroy, than ſave the *Hugonets*: That they being out of apprehenſion of danger, might ſtay all at Home, and ſo be more eaſily Maſſacred. On the 28*th* of *Auguſt*, a Jubilee was granted to all, who had been in this Butchery; and they were commanded to go every where to Church, and bleſs God, for the ſucceſs of that Action. So little relenting had they, after all theſe black Crimes, that they imagined they had done God good ſervice: And to that height did their Impudence riſe, that they preſumed to addreſs to that Merciful Being, who abhors cruel and blood-thirſty Men, and that with hands

hands not only defiled with Blood, but boasting of it as a Sacrifice offered to God, which had been a fitter Oblation to him *that was a Lyar and a Murderer from the beginning*, than *the God of Truth, and Father of Mercies.*

One remarkable Passage fell out, which occasioned much Discourse, and was variously constructed by the several Parties. On the day of the Massacre, about Noon, a white Thorn in the Church-yard of the Innocents, that was almost dead, and had no Leaves on it, flourished all of a sudden. This was published through the Streets of *Paris*, as a Sign, that Heaven approved their actions, and was made use of to animate them to new heats in their Cruelty: For every one was set on to kill one or other, that he might be honoured with the sight of so unusual a thing. Some thought it might come from the nature of the Tree, and it was said, such things were not extraordinary in Trees of that kind, a little before they became quite dead. Others believed it might be the Trick of some Monk, who pouring either hot Water, or some prepared Water at the Root of it, might have done the feat. But the Rable did universally ascribe it to some miraculous Cause, only they differed about that to which it referred. The *Protestants* said, it signified their Innocence, and that a new Troop of Innocents were sent to Heaven, and therefore the Tree in the Church-yard of the Innocents flourished afresh. The *Papists* said, is signified the joy in Heaven at that days work, and that the Church was to flourish again by the death of the Hereticks.

But leaving these discantings on this seeming Miracle, *Morvillier* that was Lord-Keeper, advised, That for justifying, or at least mitigating the Censures that might be made on these proceedings, there should be a

Proceſs carried on, againſt the dead Admiral, to prove him guilty of a Conſpiracy againſt the King and the Royal Blood; and there were ſome few *Proteſtants* kept Priſoners, who had been taken out of the Engliſh Ambaſſadors Lodgings, who to ſave themſelves, they hop'd might be brought to accuſe the Admiral. But while this Mock-Proceſs was making, there was a real proſecution of the like Cruelties in many other parts of *France*.

At *Meaux*, a little Town not far from *Paris*, they began on the 25*th* of *Auguſt*, being *Monday*, and ſpent the whole Week in ſhedding more Blood. They killed two hundred; many of thoſe were Women, whom they Forced before they Murdered them. At *Troye* in *Champaigne*, about the ſame number was killed. At *Orleans*, a thouſand were alſo killed. Six or ſeven hundred at *Roan*, tho the Governour did what he could to hinder it. At *Bourges*, *Nevers*, and *Charite*, all they found were killed. At *Tholouſe* two hundred were killed. At *Burdeaux*, they were for ſome time in ſuſpence, being afraid of the *Rochellers*; but the Prieſts did ſo inflame the Multitude, that the Governour could not reſtrain their rage longer, than the beginning of *October*; ſo then they Maſſacred all that they could find. This beginning, was followed by all the Towns on the *Garvinne*. But next to *Paris*, *Lions* was the place where the moſt barbarous Cruelties were acted. The Governour had a mind to ſave the *Proteſtants*, and gathered together about ſix or ſeven hundred of them, whom he lodged in ſeveral Priſons, that ſo he might preſerve them: And to give the People ſome content, he granted them the pillage of their Houſes. But they were ſo heated by the Clergie, and by ſome that were ſent from the Court, to promote the Maſſacre every where, that they broke open the Priſons and murdered them all, dragged

dragged their Bodies through the Streets, and opened the Bellies of the fatteſt of them, to ſell their Greeſe to Apothecaries. And when they could do no more, they threw them into the River of *Rhoſne*, which was coloured with the Blood, and filled with the Carcaſes of the ſlain. Theſe Examples were followed in many more places, but deteſted by others, who were not Papiſts enough, to overcome Nature and all Morality. The Governours in ſome places reſtrained the People; and in many places the Souldiers, tho more inured to Blood, defended the Proteſtants from the Rable, that were ſet on by the Prieſts. The Anſwer the Governour of *Bayonne* made, deſerves to be remembred, who wrote to the King in theſe Words.

SIR,

I Have communicated your Majeſty's Command to the Inhabitants of the Town, and the Souldiers of the Garriſon. I find many good Citizens, and brave Souldiers, but never a Hangman here: And therefore in their Name and my own, I humbly beg your Majeſty would employ our Arms, and Lives in things, which are poſſible for us to do, how dangerous ſoever they may be, and we will ſpend the laſt drop of our Blood in your Service.

This gave great Offence at Court, and ſoon after, both he and the Count of *Tendes*, Governour of *Provence*, who had alſo given Orders, that there ſhould be no Maſſacre made within his Juriſdiction, died very ſuddenly: And it was believed they were both poiſoned. In all there were, as *Thuanus* ſays, Thirty thouſand maſſacred over *France*, tho he believes they were not quite ſo many. *Mezeray* eſtimates them at five and twenty Thouſand. But *Pereſixè* ſays, that over all *France*, near

Mezeray.

Hiſt. Hen. *the* 4*th.*

near an hundred thouſand were butchered. And *Veremundus* ſays, that beſides thoſe who were killed, an hundred Thouſand Perſons were ſet a begging, moſt of thoſe being Widows and Orphans. Many of them fled to the places of ſtrength in *France*, and great numbers went out of the Kingdom. For when they had eſcaped the firſt rage of the Maſſacre, they clearly perceived the deſign of their Enemies, was to extirpate them *Root and Branch*. And tho the King at firſt declared he would obſerve the Edict inviolably, they had learned from ſad experience, how little his Faith was to be depended on, and they were further convinced of it by freſh Proofs. For the King preſſed the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* very hard, to change their Religion: the former was tractable and hearkned to inſtruction; but the latter continued reſolute and would hear nothing. This put the King once into ſuch a Rage, that he called for his Arms, and was going in Perſon, either to kill him, or ſee him killed; had not his vertuous Queen, who had been inſtructed by her Father, to abhor all cruel Proceedings about Religion, caſt her ſelf at his Feet, and with many Tears diverted him from ſo ignominious an Action. But he ſent for him and ſaid only theſe three words to him, *Maſs*, *Death*, or the *Baſtil*. Yet he generouſly reſolved to ſuffer Death, or perpetual Impriſonment, rather than go to Maſs, had they not found out a Tool fit to work on him. One *Sureau-des Roſiers*, that had been Miniſter of the Proteſtants at *Orleans*, had now to ſave his Life, changed his Religion; But to have ſome reputation in it, pretended that he had reſolved to have done it ſooner, tho when that fear was over, he returned to them again, but was never much conſidered after that. He was therefore employed to perſwade the Prince of *Conde*: and what by his endeavours, and what by fear of Death, both

both the King of *Navarre* and he went to Maſs, and wrote Letters full of Submiſſion and Obedience to the Pope; tho they were no ſooner out of that Snare, than they declared, that what had been obtained of them, was extorted by force.

This being done, the King ſent his Orders over all *France*, bearing date the 22*d* of *September*, to turn all Perſons out of any conſiderable Imployments, that would not renounce their Religion, and a long form of Abjuration was ſent with it, which was to be the Teſt: both which are printed by *Veremundus*.

The Proceſs againſt the Admiral was carried on before the Parliament of *Paris*, and (without any proofs that ever were publiſhed) they on the 27*th* of *October*, judg- " ed him guilty of a Conſpiracy againſt the King and his " Crown: And therefore ordained his Body to be hang- " ed, if it could be found; or if not, that he ſhould be " hanged in Effigie: his Houſe of *Chaſtilion* to be razed, " and a Pillar ſet up with an Inſcription to defame his " Memory, his Blood was alſo attainted, and his Children " declared ignoble and incapable of any Priviledges in " *France*. And the Sentence concluded with an Order, for celebrating St. *Bartholomews* day in all time coming, with Proceſſions and publick Thankſgivings for the Diſcovery and Puniſhment of that Conſpiracy. There were alſo two other Perſons of Quality, *Cavagnes* and *Briquemaut* who had been dealt with to accuſe the Admiral, but they would not ſave themſelves by ſo baſe a ranſom; ſo they were both condemned as Complices with him. But when the Sentence was pronounced againſt them, *Thuanus*, that was an Eye-Witneſs, ſays, *Briquemaut* cried out, when that part of the Judgment was read that concerned his Children; *Ah Innocents! what have they done?* And then he, who for 50 years together had ſer-

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ved in the Warrs, with a high and approved Valour, being then 70, what for fear of Death, what out of pity to his Children, would have done any thing, to have ſaved himſelf. He ſent the King word, firſt that he would put *Rochel* in his Hands, if he would ſpare his Life: But that being rejected, he offered to accuſe the Admiral, to preſerve himſelf. But neither was that conſidered. All that while, his Fellow-Sufferer *Cavagnes* continued moſt ſerious in his Devotions, and for three hours together, was either Praying or reciting ſome Pſalms: and expreſſed no concern for his Life, his thoughts being wholly employed about Eternity. He encouraged *Briquemaut* to die as he had lived, and to turn himſelf to God, and not to ſtain ſo honourable a Life, as he had led, with an ignominious end. And he ſeeing, he muſt die, recollected his Thoughts, and ſeemed aſhamed of his former abject behaviour, and compoſed and prepared himſelf for Death. They both were carried to the place of Execution in Hurdles, where they not only ſuffered the reptoches of the Multitude, as they went along (who threw Filth and Clay at them with their moſt ſcurrilous Language) but Death it ſelf with much Chriſtian Patience and Magnanimity. They were hanged at the *Greve*, and their Bodies, after they were dead, were barbarouſly mangled by the cruel Multitude. With them the brave Admiral was hanged in Effigie, whoſe Innocence, as well as their own, they did to their laſt Breath aſſert. The King who delighted in ſuch bloody Spectacles, did not only look on himſelf, with the Queen-Mother, and the Court; but forced the King of *Navarre* likewiſe to be a Witneſs of it.

It is needleſs to ſay much, for evincing the Admiral's Innocence, for all the Writers of the time acknowledg, the Proceſs was only to cover the infamy of the Maſſacre.

And

And *Thuanus* has ſo fully demonſtrated it, that none can ſo much as doubt of it. If the Admiral had any ſuch deſign, why came he to Court? Why to *Paris*, where he knew he had few Friends, and a vaſt number of mortal Enemies? and why did he deſire a Guard from the King? But ſince they could not find a better colour for ſo foul a Buſineſs, they muſt make uſe of the beſt they had. They took another courſe to ſtop the Queen of *Englands* reſentments, who, beſides the common Cauſe of Religion, had a particular eſteem for the Admiral, for they ſhewed a Memorial, which he had given the King to perſwade the War of *Flanders*, to *Walſingham* (the ever renowned Secretary of State) then her Ambaſſador in *France*; In which one of the reaſons was; "That if the King would not receive theſe oppreſ-"ſed Provinces into his Protection, they would throw "themſelves into the Queen of *Englands* Hands; and if "the Engliſh made themſelves Maſters of them, or of any "conſiderable Ports in them, they would be again unea-"ſy and formidable Neighbours to *France*, which would "thereby loſe the great ſecurity they had in taking *Ca-"lice* out of their Hands. When *Walſingham* read this, and was asked, what he thought of the Admirals Friendſhip to his Miſtreſs? he anſwered, as became ſo great a Man. "That he could not ſay much of his Friendſhip to "the Q. of *England*, but he was ſure, it appeared from that, "what a faithful Subject he was to the King of *France*.

A Week after this was done, the King compleated the Treachery of this Precedure: for by his Letters directed to the Governours of the Provinces, bearing date the 3*d* of *November*, He declared he would Tollerate no Religion, but the *Roman* Catholick in all his Dominions. Upon which the following Civil Wars began, and in excuſe of them, I ſhall only ſay, that beſides

ſides the barbarous and perfidious Treatment the *Proteſtants* had now received, they had this legal Warrant for ſtanding on their own defence, That by the former Treaty the King granted them Cautionary Towns, for Pledges of the obſervation of the Edict. And it is certain, that if a Prince grants his Subjects Cautionary Towns for their Security, he does thereby relax their Alleagiance to him, and gives them a right to defend themſelves, if the Agreement upon which theſe Pledges were given, ſhould come to be broken.

This is the true and juſt account of that foul and treacherous Maſſacre, even as it is repreſented by the Hiſtorians of that Age and Church, who can neither deny nor excuſe the Infamy of it; tho ſome rejoyced at it, and others wrote in defence of it. The King gloried ſo much in it, that three Meddals were ſtruck, to perpetuate the memory of it. In one, *Hercules* is both with his Club, and a Flambeau, fighting againſt the ſeven-headed Serpent, with this Motto. *Ne ferrum temnat, ſimul ignis obſto.* On the reverſe, the King with his Hand, ſupports two Crowned Pillars, ready to fall, with this Motto. *Mira fides, lapſas relevat manus una Columnas.* Hereby intimating, that Hereſy was the Serpent, which was to be deſtroyed by main Force, and by Fire: And that by this Act, the King had ſupported Religion and Juſtice. In the ſecond, the King ſits in his Chair of State, with a Sword in his right Hand, and an Hand on the Head of a Scepter in his left. And many Heads lying about his Feet, with this Motto. *Virtus in Rebelles.* On the Reverſe, were the Arms of *France*, between two Pillars and two Lawrel Branches, with this Motto, *Virtus excitavit Juſtitiam.* The third had, on the one ſide, a Woman environed with Rays, and a Book open in one Hand, and a Palm in the other, and at her Feet

Feet many Heads in Flames, with this Motto, *Subducendis rationibus.* The Reverſe was the ſame with the firſt. The Signification of this, was, Religion triumphing over Hereſy.

But this was only a falſe ſhew of Joy, for he was inwardly tormented with the horrours of a guilty Conſcience, which the effuſion of ſo much Blood did juſtly raiſe in him; ſo that being often troubled with Viſions, he was frequently heard ſay, *Ah! my poor Subjects, what had you done? But I was forced to it.* The ſtrange manner of his Death, looked like a ſignal Judgment from Heaven for that bloody day; for after a long Sickneſs, which was believed the effect of a lent Poiſon given him by the Queen-Mother, Blood not only came out through all the Conduits of his Body, but through the very Pores, ſo that he was ſometimes found, all bathed in his own Blood. And he that had made his Kingdom ſwim with Blood, died thus wallowing in his own.

All the ſervile Pens of the Lawyers, and the bitter ones of enraged Prieſts, were alſo ſet on work, to appear in Defence of it; Of whoſe Writings *Thuanus* gives a full account. One mercenary Proteſtant was alſo hired, to excuſe, if not to defend it. I have never been able to meet wit h any of theſe Books, only *Roſſeus* that wrote in defence of the Holy League, calls it *the Juſtice of St. Bartholomews day.* And *Andreas Eudemon Johannes* does alſo commend it.

The Arguments they uſed, have been formerly glanced at. The late Civil Wars; the pretended Conſpiracy of the Admiral; the neceſſity of uſing deſperate Remedies in extream Caſes; and the Sovereign Power of Kings, were what the Lawyers could pretend. But the Divines had a better Plea, that by one General Council, *all Hereticks*

reticks were to be extirpated. And by another, *Faith was not to be kept to them.* And it cannot be denied, but this is unanſwerable, according to the Principles of the Roman Church. The Proteſtants were not wanting to their own Cauſe, but anſwered theſe Books, and ſufficiently diſcovered the impudent Allegations of thoſe ſhameleſs Perſons, who hired themſelves out to defend ſo horrid an Action.

Maximilian the 2*d*, the Emperor, is the Perſon whoſe Judgment we have leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect. He was the King of *France* his Father-in-Law, and both by Blood and Alliance was joined to the Crown of *Spain*, yet he in a private Letter, writing to *Scuendi* his chief Miniſter in *Hungary*, has delivered his ſenſe of this Matter ſo ſincerely and fully; And that whole Letter is ſo excellently well written, and ſhews ſo much true piety, and ſo rare a temper of mind, that I ſhall not fear the Reader's cenſure for inſerting it at its full length. It is but in one Book that I know, and that is very ſcarce.

Comingii Collectio p. 278.

Dear *Scuendi*,

'I Received your Letter, and took in good part your 'Chriſtian and Friendly Condoleance for my late 'Sickneſs. The Eternal God, in whoſe hands are 'all things, do with me according to his Will. I bleſs 'him for every thing that befalls me. He only knows 'beſt what is healthful and profitable, and what is hurt-'ful to me: I do patiently and chearfully acquieſce in 'his Divine Pleaſure. And indeed Matters go ſo in this 'World, that a Man can have little pleaſure or quiet in 'them: for every where there is nothing to be found but 'trouble, treachery, and foul dealing. God pity us, 'and deliver his Church from theſe miſchiefs. It were no 'wonder,

'wonder, if from ſuch a proſpect of Affairs, a Man ſhould 'become ſtupid or mad; of which I could ſay much 'to you. I begin to recover, and am now ſo ſtrong, 'that I walk about with a Stick. God be bleſſed in all 'his Works.

'For that ſtrange thing which the French have lately 'acted, moſt tyrannically againſt the Admiral and his 'Friends, I am far from approving it: and it was a great 'grief to me, to hear that my Son-in-Law had been 'perſwaded to that vile Maſſacre; tho I know that 'others reign rather than he; yet that is not ſufficient to 'excuſe him, nor to palliate ſuch a wickedneſs. I 'would to God he had asked my advice, I ſhould 'have given him faithful and fatherly Counſel, and he 'ſhould never have had my conſent to this Crime, which 'has caſt ſuch a blemiſh on him, that he will never waſh 'it off.

'God forgive them that lie under ſuch guilt. I ap- 'prehend within a little while, they ſhall perceive what 'they have gained by this method. For indeed, as you 'obſerve well, the Matters of Religion are not to be 'handled or decided by the Sword: and no Man can 'think otherwiſe, that is either pious or honeſt, or de- 'ſirous of Publick Peace and Happineſs. Far otherwiſe 'did Chriſt teach, and his Apoſtles inſtruct us; their 'Sword was their Tongue, their Doctrine, the Word of 'God, and a Life worthy of Chriſt. Their Example 'ſhould draw us to follow them, in ſo far as they were 'followers of Chriſt.

'Beſides, that mad ſort of People might have ſeen af- 'ter ſo many years Trials, and ſo many Experiments, 'that by their Cruelties, Puniſhments, Slaughters and 'Burnings, this Buſineſs cannot be effected. In a word,

'Their ways do not at all pleaſe me, nor can I ever be 'induced to approve them, unleſs I ſhould become mad or diſtracted which I pray God earneſtly to preſerve me from.

'And yet I ſhall not conceal from you, that ſome im-'pudent and lying Knaves, have given out, That what-'ever the French have done, was by my knowledg and 'approbation. In this I appeal to God, who knows 'how deeply I am injured by it; but ſuch Lies and Ca-'lumnies are no new things to me. I have been often 'forced to bear them formerly: and in all ſuch caſes, I 'commit my ſelf to God, who knows in his own good 'time, how to clear me, and vindicate my innocence.

'As for the *Netherlands*, I can as little approve of the 'Exceſſes committed there. And I do well remember 'how often I wrote to the King of *Spain*, Advices far 'different from thoſe they have followed. But what 'ſhall I ſay? The Councils of the *Spaniards* reliſhed bet-'ter than mine. They now begin to ſee their Error, 'and that they themſelves have occaſioned all the miſ-'chief that hath ſince followed. I had a good end be-'before me, that theſe noble and renown'd Provinces 'might not be ſo miſerably deſtroyed. And tho they 'would not follow my Counſel, ſo that I may well be 'excuſed from medling any more, yet I do not give 'over, but am ſincerely preſſing them all I can to follow 'another method.

'God grant I may ſee the wiſhed-for effect of theſe 'endeavours, and that Men may be at laſt ſatisfied with 'what they have done, and may uſe no more ſuch vio-'lent Remedies. In a word, Let the *Spaniards* or the '*French* do what they will, they ſhall be made to give 'an account of their Actions to God, the Righteous and

'Juſt

'Juſt Judg. And for my part, by the help of God, I 'ſhall carry my ſelf honeſtly, chriſtianly, and faithfully, 'with all candour and uprightneſs; and I hope God 'will ſo aſſiſt me with his Grace and Bleſſing, that I may 'approve all my Deſigns and Actions, both to him and 'to all Men. And if I do this, I little regard a wicked 'and malicious World.

How the reſt of the World looked on this Action, may be eaſily gathered from the Inclinations and Intereſts of the ſeveral Parties. That all Proteſtants did every where abhor it, and hold the remembrance of it, ſtill in deteſtation, needs not be doubted. All that were noble or generous in the *Roman Church* were aſhamed of it, but many extolled it to the Heavens as a work of Angels; and others did caſt the blame of it on the Proteſtants. The Court of *Spain* rejoiced openly at it. They delighted in the ſhedding of Proteſtant Blood, and were alſo glad to ſee *France* again embroil'd, and to be freed of the fears they had of a War in *Flanders*. In which if the French King had engaged, he had in all appearance conquered in one year, that for which his Succeſſors have been ſince fighting a whole Age.

But let us next examine how the tidings of this Maſſacre were received at *Rome*, by which we may judg how fitly that part of Antichriſt's Character, *of being drunk with the Blood of the Saints*, agrees to it. The News was brought thither the *6th* of *September*, upon which a Conſiſtory of the Cardinals was preſently called, and the Legate's Letter, that contained a Relation of the Maſſacre, being read, they went ſtraight in a Proceſſion to St. *Mark*'s Church, where they offered up

up their ſolemn thanks to God for this great Bleſſing to the *See of Rome*, and the *Catholique Church*. And on Monday following, there was another Proceſſion made by the Pope and Cardinals to the *Minerva*, where they had high Maſs, and then the Pope granted a Jubilee to all Chriſtendom: And one of the Reaſons was, **That they ſhould thank God for the ſlaughter of the Enemies of the Church, lately executed in France.** Two days after that, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, had another great Proceſſion of all the Clergy, the Ambaſſadours, Cardinals, and the Pope himſelf, who came to St. *Lewis* Chappel, where the Cardinal celebrated Maſs himſelf. And in the King of *France* his Name he thanked the Pope and the Cardinals, for their good Councils, the help they had given him, and the aſſiſtance he received from their Prayers, of which he had found moſt wonderful effects. He alſo delivered the King's Letters to the Pope, in which he wrote, *That more Heretiques had been deſtroyed in that one day, than in all the twelve years of the War.*

Hiſtorie de France, *An.* 1581.

Nor did the Pope think there was yet Blood enough ſhed, but that which all the World condemned as exceſſive Cruelty, he apprehended was too gentle. Therefore he ſent Cardinal *Urſin* his Legate in all haſte to *France*, to thank the King for ſo great a Service done the Church, and to deſire him to go on, and extirpate Hereſie Root and Branch, that it might never grow again. In order to which, he was to procure the Council of *Trent* to be received in *France*; and as the Legat paſſed through, in his Journey to *Paris*, he gave a Plenary Abſolution to all that had been Actors in the Maſſacre.

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The beſt Picture-drawers, and workers of Tapiſtry, were alſo put to work to ſet off this Action with all poſſible glory, and a Sute of theſe Hangings are to this day in the Pope's Chappel. So well do they like the thing, that they preſerve the remembrance of it ſtill, even in the place of their Worſhip. Such a repreſentation does indeed very well agree with their Devotion, whoſe Religion and Doctrine led on their Votaries to the thing ſo expreſſed. By this we may eaſily gather what is to be expected from that Court, and what we ought to look for, when-ever we are at the mercy of Men, whoſe Religion will not only bear them through, but ſet them on to commit the moſt Treacherous and Bloody Maſſacres.

FINIS.